FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-088
Tuesday
9 May 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-088 CONTENTS *9 May 1989*

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

London Forum Not To View BBC Reporter Issue *[RUDE PRAVO 3 May]* 1
States View Cooperation With Council of Europe *[PAP]* 1

ALBANIA

Charges of 'Terrorists' in Kosovo Refuted *[Dukaj in ZERI I POPULLIT 3 May]* 2
Kosovo Writers' Group Chairman Interviewed *[ZERI I POPULLIT 30 Apr]* 3
People's Councils Election Results Announced *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Alia Greets Gustav Husak on CSSR National Day *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Minister of Health Kamberi Departs for Geneva *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Cultural Agreement Signed With Turkey 4 May *[ATA]* 5
Economic Progress Report for 30 Apr-6 May *[Tirana Radio]* 5

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Delivers Introductory Speech at Plenum *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 6 May]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Further Reportage on Visit by GDR Party Leader 15
    Press Rounds Up Activities *[Bratislava PRAVDA 4 May]* 15
    Honecker Concludes Visit *[ADN]* 19
    Honecker Visit to Prague Assessed *[Kovarik in RUDE PRAVO 5 May]* 19
Ambassador Ehrenberger Holds News Conference *[Bratislava PRAVDA 6 May]* 20
Leaders Send Greetings to USSR on Anniversary *[RUDE PRAVO 7 May]* 21
Order of Day Given on Liberation Anniversary *[Bratislava PRAVDA 7 May]* 22
Jakes Receives Red Cross Committee Chairman *[Prague Radio]* 23
PLO's Salah Khalaf Visits, Talks With Rohlicek 23
    Received by Rohlicek *[RUDE PRAVO 3 May]* 23
    PLO Radio on Meeting *[Baghdad Voice of the PLO]* 23
    Visits Students Union *[MLADA FRONTA 3 May]* 24
News Conference Held on Trade With Poland *[RUDE PRAVO 4 May]* 24
Prosecutor's Appeal in Political Trial Rejected *[RUDE PRAVO 3 May]* 24
'Anti-Party Activity' in People's Party Condemned *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 3 May]* 24
3 Civil Rights Activists Arrested After Protest *[Vienna DER STANDARD 9 May]* 24
Measures To Protect Ozone Layer Introduced *[RUDE PRAVO 4 May]* 25

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker, Leaders Attend Liberation Function *[ADN]* 26
    'Festive Function' Held *[ADN]* 26
    Kessler Sends Congratulations *[ADN]* 26
    Greetings to USSR on Victory *[ADN]* 26
Leaders Vote in Local Elections; 'High Turnout' *[ADN]* 27
North Korean Paper Interviews Honecker *[Pyongyang KCNA]* 27
E. Berlin Daily Views NATO Missile 'Quarrel' *[Adam in BERLINER ZEITUNG 3 May]* 28
Foreign Trade Minister Meets Polish Counterpart *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 4 May]* 28
Deputy Defense Minister Visits Austria *[WEINER ZEITUNG 7 May]* 28
Tisch Holds Talks With FRG TU Officials *[ADN]* 29
Security Roundtable Talks With UK Conclude *[ADN]* 29
Report Notes CSSR Goods Moved in GDR Ports *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2 May]* 29

Karl Marx Days Inaugurated at Party College *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 3 May]* ... 29
Leaders' Public Appearances for 26 Apr-2 May *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND]* ... 29

HUNGARY

Reportage on MSZMP Central Committee Session ... 31
  Personnel Issues Discussed *[Budapest Radio]* ... 31
  Party Conference Before Elections *[MTI]* ... 31
  Fejti Remarks on Session *[Budapest Radio]* ... 31
  Fejti Remarks on Elections *[Budapest TV]* ... 32
  Fejti on New Parties' Membership *[MTI]* ... 32
  Spokesman's Briefing on Session *[MTI]* ... 33
  Kadar Relieved of Position *[MTI]* ... 33
Ribanszki Interviewed on 1988 Politburo Clash *[Budapest Radio]* ... 34
Bavarian Minister-President Arrives for Trade Fair ... 36
  Meets Nemeth, Poszgay *[MTI]* ... 36
  Nemeth Hosts Luncheon *[MTI]* ... 36
  Meets Karoly Grosz *[MTI]* ... 36
Szuros, Delegation Depart for Strasbourg Talks *[MTI]* ... 36
Forum Convenes on Soviet Military Airport Noise *[MTI]* ... 37
Refugees Continue To Arrive From Romania *[NEPSZABADSAG 5 May]* ... 37
Official Comments on Inflation, Price Increase *[MTI]* ... 37
First Quarter Economic Statistics for 1989 *[MTI]* ... 38

POLAND

Jaruzelski, Party Leaders Discuss Coalition *[Warsaw Television]* ... 39
Siwicki, Miodowicz Speak at Party Conference *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 39
Strike Continues in Copper, Other Mines ... 39
  Negotiations Continue *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 39
  Metro Miners Discontinue Work *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 39
  End of Copper Strike Possible *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 40
  Talks Fail To Settle Dispute *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 40
New Solidarity Newspaper Arrives on Newsstands *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 40
  Paper Reports Mass Graves *[AFP]* ... 40
Krakow Paper Outlines Solidarity Union's Tasks *[Wilkanowicz in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY 2 Apr]* . 40
Transcript of Rykowski 3 May News Conference *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 4 May]* ... 42
Central Committee Ideology Commission Meets *[TRYBUNA LUDU 28 Apr]* ... 46

ROMANIA

Political Executive Committee Meeting Convenes ... 47
  Ceausescu Chairs Meeting *[AGERPRES]* ... 47
  Meeting Endorses School Plan *[AGERPRES]* ... 47
CSSR's Lenart Receives Ion Dinca in Prague *[Bucharest Radio]* ... 48
Dinca, Stoian Attend CSSR Embassy Reception *[AGERPRES]* ... 48
Giosan, Assembly Delegation Visit Thailand *[AGERPRES]* ... 48
Ceausescu Receives Credentials of Benin Envoy *[AGERPRES]* ... 49
LUMEA on Concept of International Solidarity *[LUMEA No 17]* ... 49
Several New Agro-Industrial Towns Established *[AGERPRES]* ... 52

YUGOSLAVIA

Suvar Not in Favor of 'Extraordinary' Congress *[TANJUG]* ... 54
Cypriot Foreign Minister Arrives on Visit ... 54
  Received by Dizdarevic *[TANJUG]* ... 54
  Holds Talks With Loncar *[TANJUG]* ... 54
Loncar To Visit Cairo on Nonaligned Summit *[TANJUG]* ... 55
Defense Secretary Reviews Education, Training *[TANJUG]* ... 55
Economists Urge Prevention of Hyperinflation *[TANJUG]* ... 55
Niksic Security Men Arrested for Arms Dealing *[TANJUG]* ... 56

Milosevic Elected Serbian Presidency President *[TANJUG]* 56
New Serbian President Milosevic Gives Talk *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
New Serbian Assembly President Elected *[TANJUG]* 58
Gracanin, Mirkovic Meet Party Heads in Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 58
Jansa Imprisonment Spurs Youth Protest Meetings 58
    Radio Reports on Student Protest *[Belgrade Radio]* 58
    Slovene Youth Organization Meets *[Belgrade Radio]* 59
    Ljubljana Events Reported *[Ljubljana Radio]* 59
    Protest Meeting in Celje *[Ljubljana Radio]* 60
    Protest Meeting Banned in Maribor *[Ljubljana Radio]* 60
Ljubljana Official Speaks Out Against Meeting *[Ljubljana Radio]* 60
Slovene Reporters Censure Macedonian Prosecutor *[BORBA 3 May]* 61
Montenegrin Council for Defense Session Held *[TANJUG]* 61

London Forum Not To View BBC Reporter Issue

AU0505142589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 May 89 p 7

[Zdenek Vilimek dispatch in the "Note" column: "Against a One-Way Street"]

[Text] London (our correspondent)—The information forum, the first follow-up action to the CSCE meeting in Vienna, continued its meetings on Tuesday [3 May] in separate work groups.

Speaking to the group of radio and television journalists and the film staff, Czechoslovak delegate Karel Kvapil, director of Czechoslovak radio, pointed out the hypocrisy of speaking of the freedom of expression and the press in the capitalist countries. This freedom is applied solely in criticizing the socialist countries, but it fails to be in effect whenever anything positive is to be said about them. In that case a distorted view comes into being which considers interesting only the difficulties, unrest, adversities, and negative phenomena occurring in the life of socialist society. To prove this he cited the example of the BBC's recent British television program "Panorama of Czechoslovakia."

The press group discussed visa policies and alleviating the conditions of journalists' work. The representatives of many countries, including Czechoslovakia, also signed a document which is to be submitted to the plenary session; this document reflects the principles of both the current and the planned Czechoslovak visa policy.

The session received with considerable attention the report on the detention of a British journalist toward the end of May Day celebrations in Prague. The British, Canadian, and Austrian delegates resorted to angry sallies against the course taken by the Czechoslovak authorities with regard to this BBC reporter. Ivan Kulhanek, director of the press section of the CSSR Foreign Ministry, briefed the assembled delegates on the following facts: The British journalist was filming matters in the upper part of Wenceslas Square, where a group of citizens were rioting [srotit se] with the intention of disrupting the May Day rally. The group also included the so-called Children of Bohemia, who are known to desire the restoration of the monarchy in Czechoslovakia. During the efforts of our security officers to interfere, the BBC reporter was unable to prove his identity; he carried no documents on him. In such cases it is normal in every country, I. Kulhanek emphasized, to check a person's identity, which is also what happened in the present case. The British journalist then was released.

In this context the group of press journalists was addressed by Czechoslovak delegate Milan Jelinek, head of the foreign policy department of RUDE PRAVO, who emphasized that our delegation would consider it most harmful were the case of the British journalist to become the pretext for a further round of mutual complaints and accusations. This development would prevent such an important international meeting as the London Information Forum from attaining positive results. The BBC representative in the British delegation then declared that he no longer intends to raise complaints concerning this matter or speak of it at the forum.

States View Cooperation With Council of Europe

LD2804025189 Warsaw PAP in English 2357 GMT 26 Apr 89

[By PAP correspondent Andrzej Rayzacher]

[Text] Vienna, April 26—Representatives of the Council of Europe from Strasbourg and the Austrian Foreign Ministry discussed the possibilities of cooperation of Poland, Hungary and the USSR with the Council of Europe at a conference here today to mark the 40th anniversary of the organization affiliating 21 countries of Western Europe.

During a press conference, the debaters discussed the interest in cooperation declared by Poland, the USSR and Hungary and in the future also in membership of the Council of Europe. Political pluralism, free elections to parliament and respecting the European convention on human rights are statutory requirement to seek membership. The interested countries can start cooperating with the Council of Europe at the beginning in definite areas and next gain a special or an observer status and later seek full membership.

Charges of 'Terrorists' in Kosovo Refuted

AU0905095289 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 May 89 p 4

[Safet Laze Dukaj article: "Who Are the Terrorists in Yugoslavia?—Linguistic Variations on a Current Political Topic"]

[Text] Yugoslav politicians, propagandists, and linguists have become very worried. For more than 20 years they have been trying to find a name for those Albanians who oppose Great Serbian chauvinist policies, but have failed to find one.

They were once called "irredentists," and this term rang out at all the anti-Albanian rallies and was repeated over and over again in propaganda articles. However, one day somebody stood up and said that the word seemed to recognize a kind of right belonging to the Albanians. It presupposed that they were living on their own territories, whereas really they should be living in the clouds.

So, "separatism" replaced the word "irredentism." Everybody was pleased at this and the Serbian propaganda chorus sang this tune throughout Yugoslavia. However, one day it occurred to the Slovenians to insert an article into their republican constitution sanctioning their right to secede from Yugoslavia. This was nothing but a separatist threat. But what could be done with the Slovenian deputies, party Central Committee members, activists and writers? Throw them into jail on the charge of separatism, like the Albanians? But who would charge them? Serbia?! Then they decided it would be better to modify the term "separatism," used to deny the Albanians of any legitimacy, rather than to become involved in complicated tangles of which nobody could see the end.

It was now decided and announced that the Albanians are indeed separatists, but also "counterrevolutionaries." Everybody was pleased that Yugoslav political science had finally succeeded in analyzing and defining the Kosovo phenomenon in a precise and incontrovertible way. There was such great enthusiasm that a real war broke out among the politicians over who deserved the credit for this discovery, who had been the first to call the events in Kosovo "counterrevolutionary," and the Albanians "counterrevolutionaries," who should be given a medal for this valuable service.

The word "counterrevolution" was for a long time prominent in the state and party resolutions concerning the situation in Kosovo, in court verdicts condemning Albanians, and in newspaper articles and official speeches.

However, another muddle arose, because it was unclear what "revolution" was indicated —the national liberation revolution that gave rise to AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], the Federation, the 1974 Constitution, all those legal and social institutions that the famous Serbian Academy of Sciences has opposed, and that very same revolution that produced all those evils for Serbia and which Milosevic is fighting to erase?

Is not this revolution to blame for the the fact that Serbia is not a state, that its rights have been limited, and it has become the object of discrimination?

Does it not then follow that the Albanians are on the same front as the Serbs against those stubborn Slovenians, Croats, and Bosnians who still defend that destructive revolution? Matters became highly confused, because the outside world could not make out who were the revolutionaries in Yugoslavia, and who were the counterrevolutionaries.

At this awkward moment, Ilija Djukic, deputy federal secretary for external affairs, stood up and used his great philosophical and diplomatic authority to announce that the term "counterrevolution" should be abandoned when referring to Kosovo, because Europe understood neither the word nor to whom it referred. He said that the Albanians should not be called irredentists, separatists, or counterrevolutionaries, but quite simply, in a word, "terrorists."

When it seemed that the last word had been said, a further problem emerged. The question arose as to what idea and what ideology is making terrorists out of the Albanians; what political objective do they want to achieve? After all, terrorism is a means of struggle.

However, everyone has his share of luck—even the Yugoslav political chiefs. They had the bright idea of saying that the Albanian movement in Kosovo is inspired by Moslem fanaticism, which is totally self-enclosed and has nothing to do with national, social, economic, and cultural questions, and so on. The seal was set on this. The Albanians were "fundamentalist terrorists." This discovery, Belgrade imagined, would both teach Europe, which could not understand Yugoslav terminology, what the Albanians really were, and also reassure Yugoslav citizens who had been trying so hard to work out the real causes of the Kosovo events.

However, now that the term "terrorist" had been discovered, how could it be proved? There had to be some public statement on the part of the Albanians, some written document, some weapons, a knife, or something to shut the mouths of sceptics and other outspoken people.

Luck came to the rescue. There were demonstrations in Kosovo in which hundreds of thousands took to the streets to oppose the Serbian constitutional changes that violated the Albanians' national and democratic rights. These were filmed by Yugoslav and foreign journalists. They were shown on television screens throughout the world and described at length in the media. Yet even here something unexpected happened. The demonstrations were everywhere peaceful, but the tanks and police fired on the demonstrators and those killed were all Albanians—children, students, and women. The European Parliament produced a resolution condemning the violence of the police and the other armed forces in Kosovo. An authoritative German newspaper testified that the deaths of the two policemen in Kosovo had nothing to do with the demonstrations. One, the Albanian, was killed out of motives of personal revenge, while the other was killed as a response to his bestial beating of some children.

So, what could be done with the statements of the highest official bodies, according to which there had been an "armed uprising" in Kosovo to "destroy Yugoslavia?" Could one prove an armed uprising, involving the whole of Kosovo and hundreds of thousands of people, with two dead policemen? A commonplace struggle with pickpockets sometimes ends with more victims among the forces of law and order.

A lot of thought went on, and finally, after 2 months of study and meditation, Bora Tomic, deputy secretary for public security within the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs, gave an interview to what Belgrade calls its most serious, unbiased, and objective newspaper, POLITIKA, and stated that, during the Kosovo disturbances, apart from the thousands of villains who ended up in prison, a major trophy made up of arms had been obtained, making up a real arsenal. He counted it all: 5,000 pistols worth 1,000 dollars [as heard] each, 427 guns, 74 automatic rifles, 7 machine guns, 117 grenades, 1,446 hunting rifles, 17,500 bullets, more than 8,000 kilograms of explosives, 146 detonators, and other unspecified weapons.

History rarely witnesses such a victorious battle. The Yugoslav Army not only suffered no human or material losses, but, according to Bora Tomic's reckoning, acquired several tens of millions of dollars [currency as heard] worth of weapons at a time when the Federation is cutting military expenditure.

Bora Tomic is not interested in how the Kosovars found all those millions of dollars, or how they smuggled all these weapons into Yugoslavia. Leave that to people who do not believe, and even laugh at, Belgrade's statements that the Kosovo events were the result of a major international conspiracy involving Albania, the American CIA, Saudia Arabia, the international drug mafia, Yugoslav emigres, Iranian fundamentalists, and various others, both familiar and obscure. Despite all these efforts on the part of political and linguistic science, the world is still asking: Who are the terrorists in Yugoslavia—the slain Kosovo children, of whom the number killed and their names are still unknown, or those who killed them?

Kosovo Writers' Group Chairman Interviewed

AU0805185389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT
in Albanian 30 Apr 89 p 4

["Interview With Ibrahim Rugova, Chairman of the Kosovo Writers Association"]

[Text] American journalist Julio Negele interviewed the renowned Kosovo writer Ibrahim Rugova in Pristina recently.

[Negele] Professor Rugova, you will soon be dismissed from your position as chairman of the Kosovo Writers Association. Why?

[Rugova] The intent to dismiss me from the position of chairman is because I have insisted that our association should enjoy intellectual autonomy and be independent, as are all other associations in Yugoslavia and in the world. This is the only demand that I have made and people in politics naturally do not like this and wish to see me dismissed, not through the Writers Association, which is legitimate, but through force. They are dismissing me also with the accusation that we do not accept a dialogue with people who oppose us.

[Negele] This decision was adopted by the Socialist League and not by the Writers Association. What does this mean in regard to the present political situation in Kosovo?

[Rugova] The Kosovo Socialist League has adopted this decision without consulting the Writers Association, claiming that I have disturbed national relations in Kosovo and Yugoslavia and, I am joking, perhaps because I have disturbed relations between peoples elsewhere in Europe and in the world. The Socialist League is doing this for purely political motives. The main objection is apparently the discussions that I have had with Serb writers, because the latter have accused us of being nationalists, separatists, and so forth, and so forth, because we refused to deny Albanian history, culture, and language, and we have refused to give up our current rights under the 1974 SFRY Constitution. They then compelled the Serb writers in Kosovo to resign from the association and insisted that it should become a section of Serbia, that it should not be an independent association. This is ludicrous. Bear in mind that numerous associations, councils, and so forth, are functioning in Yugoslavia, while they wish to see even those that exist here in Kosovo disappear. The fact that no one knows how the Kosovo intellectuals will fare is politically negative. However, this is also part of a demand that able Kosovo cadres should be removed from the political, cultural, and intellectual scene. As an intellectual, I believe that this is not a positive thing, neither for us nor for Yugoslavia. This is generally compromising.

[Negele] Is Kosovo threatened by nationalists and separatists, or is this an invention by Serb politicians and newspapers?

[Rugova] This is a political construction, the intention being to deny us our present rights under the 1974 Constitution through this accusation. That is why we are being accused of being nationalists and separatists. But the people have declared themselves even before this when they demanded fuller autonomy, rights, freedom, equality, like those of all the other peoples in Yugoslavia. It is nothing more than that. The main accusation is now that we are separatists, that we want to join Albania, and so forth. This is not true, because the people themselves have shown that they want to be in Yugoslavia as a people with full rights, because we are not a minority of a few thousand, but a minority of 2-3 million. We want the same rights as all the other peoples of Yugoslavia, and these rights must not be reduced. We want to have our own national identity, as well as economic and political independence because we are a normal population in Yugoslavia, like all the others, and we want to keep the rights that we have had so far. Let me say that in Yugoslavia all peoples are brothers and whoever wishes to dominate over others will come to a sticky end. The same can be said for the Balkans as a whole and the only solution is for good intentions to prevail here in Kosovo so that all have rights and autonomy and, naturally, to see that democracy is applied in Kosovo. Moreover, all political accusations against the intelligentsia and all sections of the people should cease, because all these sections are currently being accused, including young people, students, school children, intellectuals, and so forth. But they [the Serbs] say that the intellectuals are guilty, as well as some politicians who have opposed them.

[Negele] Kosovo experienced last month the most savage violence since World War II. What were the reasons that led to this unprecedented violence and bloodshed?

[Rugova] There has been bloodshed in Kosovo, which is unprecedented in Yugoslavia since World War II. However, we may also say that we have continually had state of emergencies in Kosovo; for example, in 1945 immediately after the liberation. Then again in 1956, we experienced violence on the part of the state organs. We also had a state of emergency in 1981, and the lives of innocent victims have again been claimed this year. We are the only people in Yugoslavia who have had victims and states of emergencies in peacetime. It is therefore necessary to look at this problem in Yugoslavia. It is necessary to determine who is responsible for this. Is this done only because we are Albanians here? Let them tell us how the problem stands because our people wish to remain and to live here. This is the main question.

[Negele] You stated that the Writers Association has lost its autonomy. You, personally, have demanded that the Association should be autonomous. You are now being dismissed because you continued to defend this autonomy. In other words, your association is no longer autonomous. What about Kosovo itself, has it lost its autonomy from Serbia?

[Rugova] I have insisted that our association should be autonomous, but after my dismissal, in the present situation, there will surely be other solutions and people will be selected who will not insist on the autonomy of the Albanians. But we, as writers, will continue to insist on democratic elections with a number of candidates and will in no way accept someone imposed on us by the politicians. This is also related to the question of the autonomy of Kosovo, and the amendments approved by the Serbian and Kosovo assemblies. The autonomy has been restricted. This is my opinion, and it is dangerous to say it, but I will say it, as an intellectual. Although the rulers in Serbia say that Kosovo loses nothing and that Serbia gains nothing, as far as I am concerned, this is demagogy. If Kosovo loses nothing and Serbia gains nothing, then why the change? This is demagogy directed against our people. Naturally, there must be a change between two groups, one of them must suffer, or else we should let things be as they were.

People's Councils Election Results Announced

AU0805192589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 May 89

["Communique on Results of Elections to People's Councils, People's Courts"]

[Text] In an atmosphere of great popular joy, elections for people's councils and people's courts were held throughout the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on 7 May 1989.

The election result notifications sent to the Presidium of the People's Assembly by the district people's council executive committees show that the elections were held everywhere in conformity with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the requirements of the Decree on Elections for the People's Councils and People's Courts.

The overall number of registered voters was 1,945,615. Over 99.99 percent of them participated in the voting. Seventeen people failed to vote.

Over 99.99 percent of voters took part in the elections for the district people's councils. Five votes were cast against.

One hundred percent of voters voted for the Democratic Front candidates in all Tirana precincts.

One hundred percent of all registered voters voted for the Democratic Front candidates in the elections for the city people's councils.

Over 99.99 percent of all registered voters voted for the Democratic Front candidates in the elections for the people's councils of city precincts. Five votes were cast against.

Over 99.99 percent of all registered voters voted for the Democratic Front candidates in the elections for the people's councils of joined villages. Eleven votes were cast against.

Over 99.99 percent of registered voters voted for the Democratic Front candidates in the elections for the people's councils of villages. There were 251 votes cast against.

Over 99.99 percent of voters voted for the Democratic Front candidates in the elections for judges. Twenty votes were cast against.

Over 99.99 percent of all registered voters voted for the Democratic Front candidates in the election for assistant judges. Eleven votes were cast against.

The election commissions declared 619 ballots to have been invalid.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

[Dated] Tirana, 8 May 1989.

Alia Greets Gustav Husak on CSSR National Day

AU0805194689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:

On the occasion of the National Day of Czechoslovakia, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and personally, I convey to you and the Czechoslovak people greetings and best wishes for happiness and progress.

Minister of Health Kamberi Departs for Geneva

AU0805194989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] A delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Minister of Health Ahmet Kamberi, left today for Geneva, where it will attend the 42d session of the World Health Assembly.

Cultural Agreement Signed With Turkey 4 May

AU0505131089 Tirana ATA in English 0933 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Tirana, May 5 (ATA)—The program on cultural, educational, and scientific exchanges between the government of the People's Socialist Republic [PSR] of Albania and the government of the Republic of Turkey for 1989-1991 was signed in Tirana on May 4.

The program was signed for the Albanian side by the chairman of the Albanian Committee on Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica, whereas for the Turkish side by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the PSR of Albania, Teoman Surenkok.

The program envisages exchanges between the two countries in the fields of culture, education, radio-television and of sports.

The signing ceremony was attended by the vice-minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani; the vice-chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts, Capajev Gjokutaj, as well as members of the two delegations.

The minister of education, Prof Skender Gjinushi, received the Turkish delegation, headed by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Teoman Surenkok, and acquainted him with the development of education, culture, and arts in our country.

Economic Progress Report for 30 Apr-6 May

AU0605183589

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 30 April-6 May carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Korce District: The industrial production plan for the 4-month period was fulfilled by 100 percent. (1800 GMT 4 May 89)

Kruje District: Nineteen collectives report having prefulfilled the 4-month plan. (1800 GMT 3 May 89)

Kukes District: The 4-month industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 3 million leks. (1800 GMT 6 May 89)

Librazhd District: The 4-month industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 4 million leks. (1800 GMT 3 May 89)

Sarande District: The 4-month industrial production plan was exceeded by 5.5 million leks. (1800 GMT 2 May 89)

Shkoder District: The industrial production plan for the 4-month period was fulfilled 2 days ahead of schedule and the export plan was exceeded by 6 million leks. (1800 GMT 6 May 89)

Skrapar District: The industrial production plan for the 4-month period was exceeded by 3 percent. (1800 GMT 6 May 89)

Tropoje District: The 4-month industrial production plan was exceeded by 600,000 leks. (1800 GMT 2 May 89)

Zhivkov Delivers Introductory Speech at Plenum

AU0805170189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 May 89 pp 1, 2

["Introductory Speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov," general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, at the BCP Central Committee Plenum on Agriculture on 4 May: "Company-Based Organization Is an Important Step Toward Democratizing Our Society"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades,

Twodocuments are proposed for your attention:

—A report of the Politburo "On Agricultural Policy Under Conditions of Restructuring;"
—A draft decree of the State Council on using the land and organizing agricultural activity.

The decisions which we will adopt are the result of profound work, in which scientists, specialists, leading figures, and agricultural workers took part.

I would again like to stress that the present plenum was preceded by a continuous discussion. The discussion of the memorandum was merely a stage in this more general discussion.

Comrades,

Regardless of how numerous the agricultural questions are, it is clear that they cannot be reviewed outside the context of the general processes of restructuring we are implementing.

In this context, please allow me to briefly speak about the **progress of restructuring** in our country, from the viewpoint of the **logic** of its implementation, which **brought us** to the present plenum.

Are there grounds for such an approach?

Yes, there are.

For almost 2 years we have been implementing the process of restructuring, which we connect with the **July 1987 Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee,** which adopted **the concept** on further constructing socialism in our country. As we have stressed in the past, such a large-scale restructuring is **impossible** without the process that has been taking place **in the USSR, both in theory and in practice,** since the 27th CPSU Congress.

There is no need to prove that 2 years is a **very short period of time** for achieving the goals and implementing the tasks incorporated in this concept. However, the essence of the issue lies not in **terms measured by the calendar.** If it were a question of the calendar, then we could say without exaggerating that we are still in the **initial period** of a very long process.

The essential point is this: To what degree have we succeeded during these 2 years in implementing the restructuring strategy, the intentions of the July Concept, and the order of profound renewal?

This is what is preoccupying the Politburo, the Central Committee, the party, and broad strata of the people at present. If from a **tactical point of view** we can move on the basis of ebbs and flows, and even explain individual failures in this way, then the implementation of the **strategy** of restructuring is an **issue which affects the fate of restructuring itself** and the fate of **socialism** in our country.

With the July Concept we took on the task of not only rescuing socialism in our country from the paradoxes that it itself created, but also elevating it to a new degree of development. This is a matter of strategy. We **cannot** retreat from this strategy.

Generally, what are the positions from which we are reviewing the progress of restructuring?

First of all I would again like to point out: The July Concept, which was worked out on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in accordance with our communist ideals, is a vital, promising, and well-founded platform for restructuring Bulgaria's socialist society.

It is vital, because **it is not a model created in some office,** but a model that springs from the **realties,** and aims at **changing** them.

It is promising, because it will not be used simply in solving **currenttasks,** or **operational** issues, but problems related to **bringing** our socialist society to a **qualitatively new state.**

It is well-founded, because objective **natural laws** are its Archimedian fulcrum. The main **principles** of our development and our **policy** are formed on the basis of the requirements of these laws.

I have in mind such fundamental principles as the principle of socialist property being uniform and indivisible in the multitude of forms for its management; the principle of combining the various interests in such a way that the nationwide and collective interests are manifested through individual interests; the principles of democratic centralism and self-management, on the basis of which we are now transferring great power from the top to the bottom of the social pyramid and creating a new type of social community in material and intellectual life; and the principle of the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party, which, while it continues to be a political vanguard under the new conditions, is ceasing to be a "stage" or an echelon in the hierarchy of state government.

The development of such a concept was not an easy job. **Research activity from new positions** was necessary, especially when one considers that many basic factors in social sciences proved to be **obsolete**, not only obsolete, but **distorted beyond recognition.** However, that is another matter.

This is the first element of our assessment.

The next element is that during the period under review we devoted great attention to forming practical approaches to putting our instructions into effect.

Since this issue is also posed in the report we do not have to thoroughly review it at this point. However, what is essential in this case? **The essential factor is that we had to adopt a fundamentally renewed premise about the approaches which will be used in solving the tasks.**

It is well-known that in the past we very often stressed the **subjective factor.** We did this without linking this factor to a sufficient degree to the changes in **objective economic relations.** This emerged partly even **after the July Plenum,** where, in many areas, we **did not achieve** the results we hoped to achieve.

Subsequently, also in this area we had to go all the way: to form practical approaches which allow us find a new basis for the dialogue between theory and practice, between leading activity and living creativity, and between the government decisions and reality.

The more we advanced, the more the scope of the tasks increased, and the more pressing the necessity of such approaches became. Life confronted us with the harsh reality which, under conditions of restructuring, can no longer remain within the past framework. This was especially felt immediately after the July Plenum. It was felt with special intensity at the BCP Central Committee November 1987 Plenum, the BCP National Conference, and at the plenum on issues of restructuring the intellectual sphere.

These issues had and have fundamental theoretical and practical importance in the progress of restructuring.

Why?

Because in most general directions of restructuring we still have not made significant breakthroughs. This is the truth. We must see it and grasp it.

It is true that after the July Plenum we **solved** many essential tasks. This refers first of all to restructuring the **territorial systems** and especially to creating the **new type of municipalities**. Simultaneously, we eliminated **many ministries** and thus solved important issues in the political superstructure. We adopted bold decisions in the sphere of the **attributes** of power. We began to apply certain **principles of self-management** in production, and thus accumulated valuable experience.

However, all this could not create the revolutionary upsurge that formed part of the July Concept and the objective needs. Furthermore, the conditions which sustain many deformations in the material and intellectual spheres persisted. Difficulties emerged. Many unfavorable processes developed among the cadres and a part of the population. The most important thing was that **we could not reach the commodity producers, the millions of people.** The main issue, concerning **alienation** from the means of production, remains open to a large degree.

As the report points out, this is mainly the result of the fact that in essence we preserved the old hierarchy, which continued to work for its own reproduction. **For a long time we sought a refuge for thoughts and action in the old forms of organization.** Perhaps this was the decisive factor.

We conducted experiments of all kinds, but in the final account we arrived again and again at the trusts, combines, ministries, and so forth.

This development was assisted by the fact that for a long time we did not take modern historical experience into consideration, and tried to relate to history in a subjective manner.

The phenomenon of historical experience cannot be evaded or simply ignored. In this context we did not sufficiently take into consideration two warnings from Marx:

I quote: "Even when a society finds the road of its development's natural law...it cannot jump over the natural phases of development or remove them by decrees. However, it can shorten and alleviate the birth pains. (K. Marx, Fr. Engels, "Works," vol 23, p. 12). And further on: The more developed industrial state shows the less developed one only the picture of its own future." (op. cit., p. 8)

Thus, we have only one solution: to travel our historical road as a country and society.

What could we add to this?

A clear premise is necessary: The new historical content of the contemporary world is the result of developing **production capacities** in recent years on the basis of the scientific-technical revolution. It is a universal phenomenon, a common product of civilization.

Consequently, our solution lies in relinquishing the existing forms of organization and the economic mechanism that does not fit them, and advancing toward fundamentally new solutions, coordinated with the new historical content.

Comrades, **thus we adopted the decisions of the December Plenum, the essence of which can be expressed in the following manner: With these decisions we created the necessary conditions for putting into effect the July Concept.**

If the decisions of the December Plenum provide us with a practical set of instruments, the premise of **company-based organization** in the economy and the other spheres, adapted to their specific characteristics, is the main instrument.

Now, after the December Plenum, we may say: As a result of our searches, we found that basic unit which allows us to broadly develop restructuring. Regardless of what changes take place in the company-based structures, they remain, so to speak, our fulcrum in organizing economic, social, and intellectual life.

A short while has passed since the State Council Decree and the code on its application were published; however, a significant stirring among all strata of the population can be observed under the influence of our new premises.

Here are figures on the forming of companies by the end of April 1989: state property companies—265; municipal companies—27; cooperative companies—17; public companies—6; association companies—6; citizen companies—1,661.

The establishment of companies still does not encompass many branches, whose production funds have a significant share in the national economy. I mean construction, agriculture, the food industry, and branches such as power supply and communications.

The company formation process will develop from now on, and its main direction will be in the crucial sphere in which the material and intellectual values are created.

At the moment we are holding back the establishment of companies in the sphere of communications. However, this is only temporary. After we develop the company-based organization in material production, we shall advance to the sphere of services.

I would like to inform the plenum that **the establishment of companies is developing completely in accordance with our initial premise on socialist property.** This is a premise which we often invoke, and which I mentioned a short while ago. Thus, we are achieving the further strengthening and enrichment of the **socialist foundation** of our society, and its economic, social, and intellectual potential.

We have absolutely no intention of dismantling socialist property in any way. I shall repeat: socialist property is uniform and indivisible, and its management is taking place through a great diversity of forms. What we are eliminating is the hierarchy that used to exist around it. The socialist state remains, but it is economically attached to the "input" and "output" of all subjects of economic activity. I do not mean only economic activity. All forms of management are subjected to the same principles. There is no difference in the economic conditions.

When we speak about the advantages of the company-based organization, we must note an essential factor, namely, that it creates exceptionally favorable conditions for developing the production capacities, renewing the entire system of social relations, intensifying intellectual life, and radically overcoming the alienation of people from the means of production.

As known, after the July Plenum we attempted certain steps in that direction, but they did not produce any special results. With the company-based organization we shall advance a great deal forward in solving these cardinal issues.

My main consideration is that the company-based organization is the lever with which we shall implement the golden rule of the July Concept: to transfer great power to the direct producers and turn them into agents who exercise power.

In practice this means that the companies will function on the basis of **self-management** and the broad development of **socialist democracy.** Furthermore, the companies that we created can be vital only if they are based on the principles of democracy.

Under such conditions democracy is not only a product or a result, but a constant condition for the development of any company.

Therefore, by introducing the company-based organization we **make an important step forward both in developing the July Concept and in democratizing our society.**

Along with everything else this means that the activity of the companies will be guided and implemented on the basis of **laws** rather than on the basis of decrees "from the top." When they comply with the law, nobody can object to their establishment or their decisions. **The court** is the only factor that can pass judgment. Life itself rejects companies and organizations that do not comply with these principles. In this context we are basing our entire economic, social, and intellectual life on a **legal basis.**

It is true that we are at the beginning and that we are facing a transitional period. However, nobody in the future, including the chairman of the Council of Ministers can interfere with the life of the company, providing that it has been established and it functions according to the law. The law becomes the universal criterion of assessing every man, economic unit, and all society.

Democracy is not an ornament or a matter of rhetoric, but rather a factor involved in the very mechanism of every social activity. We create real conditions for democracy; democracy, however, that is in the interest of every worker.

In this context we must conduct a comprehensive **reform of the legal superstructure.**

This was one side of the issue.

The other side is the fact that under conditions of the company-based organization, democracy requires new criteria of behavior on the part of the millions of people, cadres, and all social units.

The mechanisms of this democracy are incorporated in the content of the companies and their functioning. Everything in the companies is a matter of election, while control and interest are mutual. The manager cannot manage if he does not rely on the interest of the collective. The collective also must support the manager in the actions required of him as a leader.

The development of such democracy poses first of all the issue of **relinquishing the anonymity of the companies.**

What does this mean?

For a company to relinquish its anonymity means that it must be clear what it does with the subject of its activity for the customers in the production sphere and for private consumption; to assert its products, because of their quality and profitability both in the international and domestic markets; and in the final account, to acquire a name, confidence, and respect among those with whom it cooperates in the country and abroad.

This is, so to say, the common business card that in general eliminates the anonymity of the companies.

It is of no less importance to bring the people working in the company out of anonymity, making them responsible for their actions, with a businesslike activity and morale, able to respect the interests within the collective, and contributing to achieving the end results.

In other words, it is necessary for everyone to fully emerge from anonymity, from the manager to the chief technologist and the last worker. It is especially important that personal responsibility be guaranteed through the post each person occupies, through pay, and through property.

In the emergence from anonymity, one must even now put a stop to attempts of a number of firms and their leaderships to operate in the old way, to look to the top, and demand investments, aid, instructions from the state organs, and so on for everything.

In the same way, one must emerge from anonymity in agriculture and the other spheres. There is no sphere that can remain in anonymity.

It is necessary that the work, omissions, and results in every unit be accurately known and reported on, and that sanctions be imposed and objective incentives provided.

Unless a decisive step is taken in this direction now, we will essentially achieve nothing through the new company structures. This must be clear to everyone: to party, state, and economic organs, to every worker and specialist.

As one can see, the company-based organization requires the application of new criteria to labor, its organization, and assessment, and this will lead to a certain differentiation in our society.

Those workers, leaders, and specialists who work the best, in conformity with the world standards for quality, profitability, and productivity, will rise to "the top" as regards the payment for their labor and their incomes.

This differentiation is embodied in the company-based organization itself, and in the requirement that every company must survive in the conditions of competition in the domestic and international markets.

Accordingly, under the new conditions we cannot avoid a stratification in society in relation to incomes and, what is more, we must **encourage it.** This is quite essential if we want to re-establish the only true principle—of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor. Only on this basis can we overcome the alienation from labor and the distortions in the previous stratification according to income.

It must be made clear to us that our cadres, from top to bottom, and I stress, from top to bottom—the workers class, the agricultural workers, specialists, and so forth—are not preparedfor emerging from anonymity, for the responsibility and style of work in the conditions of the company-based organizations, or for applying the new criteria to labor, its organization, and assessment.

We are moving toward a change that will demand a colossal amount of energy for preparing the cadres and the millions of workers over the entire front: in industry, agriculture, the intellectual sphere, and everywhere.

We must now bring a wide spectrum of measures to bear, in order to train people regarding their rights and responsibilities in the new company structures. Here one has in mind involving both our specialists and specialists from abroad, training our managers and lecturers, including sending them abroad, and introducing the millions of people into a new legal atmosphere, so that each person knows what is required of him, what his rights and responsibilities are, and what he can achieve on the basis of the law.

I emphasize this: We are developing broad democracy on the basis of the law, with clearly defined rights, responsibilities, and obligations.

I would like to stress the following in conclusion with regard to these issues: Emerging from **anonymity,** creating a new **discipline** and sense of responsibility, **preparing the cadres and the workers**—these now form the Holy Trinity that will enable us to give impetus to the processes of renewal and further expand democracy, with all the consequences that stem therefrom.

I have dealt with all these issues in greater detail because they form **the main content** of the process of restructuring, because they must also be resolved in agriculture, where we face the task of expanding our work.

Comrades, **increasing the role of the new territorial communities, in the form of the townships, municipalities, and the oblasts, is the second strategic direction for building a new social organization in Bulgaria, and hence for developing socialist democracy.**

This is so because it is here, in the territorial communities, that people live and work, it is here that they create and reproduce the material and intellectual values.

It is no accident that Marx and Engels in their time placed **the problem of the so-called communal organization of society** in the center of their concept on socialism. In this context, they also posed the issue of self-management.

Relying on these premises, embodied in the genesis of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, we developed with great force the postulate on expanding local self-management in the July Concept, and are consistently carrying this postulate out.

Immense authority is being granted to the municipalities, authority that they are increasingly mastering and exercising as fully-fledged representatives of the people's power. One is referring here to the power to resolve issues in all spheres: economic, social, intellectual, and political. There is no issue that concerns man which is not a subject of the activity of the municipality and the township.

Less than 2 years have passed since the formation of the new municipalities and oblasts, yet the results tell us much. The municipalities and their leaderships have been stirred into activity, and are increasingly revealing themselves as agents of power in its different dimensions. Mechanisms are being established for solving all problems through referendums and other forms of consulting the population. The practice of broad democracy is expanding in the election of local organs of management, and the phenomenon of several candidates standing for one post is encountered increasingly frequently.

The majority of the municipal leaderships are mastering with increasing confidence the new system of laws and regulations, are utilizing the possibilities of the available production potential, and are seeking new forms of cooperation with the economic organizations, and effective approaches for enriching intellectual life.

The fact that **a number of young and promising cadres have been directed into the leaderships of the municipalities and their collective organs,** cadres that are ready to act under the new conditions, has made no small contribution to this process.

Irrespective of the imperfections of the previous system of laws and regulations, many of the townships and municipalities have, within the brief period since their formation, become filled with greater life, and encouraging changes can be seen in the images of our towns and villages and in the ambitions of their populations for a better, richer life.

It would be no exaggeration for us to say that the majority of the townships and municipalities are beginning to disturb the calm of the oblast-level territorial organs, the departments, and the competent state institutions.

This is not the only thing.

It is gratifying that the municipalities have not only mounted a struggle to defend the functions granted to them, but are also expressing their readiness to accept additional power and exercise this power.

Taking the pulse of life, we developed the postulate of transmitting new power below, territorially speaking, with appropriate rights and responsibilities. In this connection, the government is handing over functions to the oblasts that enable them to operate, as it were, as "small governments" of the relevant territories. At the same time, the rights of the townships and municipalities are not being reduced, but rather increased.

I wish to announce to the BCP Central Committee that in the past few days new normative decisions have been approved, connected with increasing the role of the oblasts and municipalities.

These documents are to be published.

They create considerably more favorable conditions both for the wider and more active participation of the population in resolving their own problems, and for the development of municipal self-management.

The main issue now is, by applying the approved documents, to reveal and manifest the municipalities' new possibilities to develop municipal property over a broader range of production areas through the formation of municipal companies, ensure that this property becomes self-maintaining to a larger degree, and exercise their right, within the minimum and maximum limits introduced by the state, to determine taxes, charges, rents, and prices for activities and resources of local importance.

The crucial factor in this context is to specifically define the mechanism for the municipalities' cooperation with the companies and their divisions.

Deductions from profits for the benefit of the municipalities should be related not only to the profits, but also to the nature of the economic activity that exerts an effect on the relevant territory.

In general, all possibilities and prerequisites should be utilized at this very stage to enable the townships and municipalities to draw up their budgets mainly in their own territories. This does not mean that the channels for revenues from the republic budget should be cut off for a number of activities, such as education, health care, and so on. However, the processes will be developed so that the townships and municipalities will assimilate increasing powers.

As was stressed at the joint session of the Politburo and the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the forthcoming formation in the oblasts and municipalities of committees of political and social organizations and movements under the Fatherland Front, the backbone of which will consist of the Communists and allied Agrarians, will raise to a new level the unity of action of the social forces and enrich the political life, social fulfillment, and labor activity of the population.

Comrades, I return once again to the problem of the companies. Some may have the impression that repetition is involved here. No, there is no repetition. I am returning to this question in order to make everyone understand what is at issue, the kind of companies we are speaking of, and the basis on which we will develop them.

As is well-known, by restructuring the economy we have to achieve **a new technological method of production.**

We are devoting exceptional attention to this, because, in the last analysis, the development of the **forces of production** are the determining factor in the whole of our socioeconomic life. Unless we move ahead in solving this issue through the company-based organization, it will mean that we have made a mistake, and a serious one at that. We must also place this question in the center of our work relating to the restructuring of agriculture.

I would like to draw attention to several aspects.

The application of the principles of the company-based organization opens up new sources of resources for growth and efficient reproduction.

Why is this so? It is because the new system of regulations creates conditions for real autonomy and full economic powers for the goods-producing companies. The companies may decide for themselves whom they will cooperate in production sharing with and how they will develop their own activities within the limits of their free capacity. They possess full independence in resolving issues connected with the necessary raw and other materials, equipment, and technologies, and in operating both in the international market and within the country. Forming associations between themselves, and with banks and companies from home and abroad, the companies can create powerful consortiums and associations on a shareholding basis.

All these mechanism and advantages of the company-based organization enable us to achieve the following: to raise to a qualitatively new basis of the level and efficiency of material-technical, labor, and financial resources and the whole of our national wealth, including the land; to transfuse capital, money, and capacities from one industrial branch to another, from one direction to another, in keeping with the dynamics of the requirements; and, in the last event, to enable the labor collectives and the whole of society to obtain much more from the country's available economic potential.

In all these directions, the company-based organization contains an immense potential, and from now on this potential will reveal itself.

In brief, the introduction of the company-based organization means a transition of our economy to a new structure, one that is capable of continuously adapting itself to the requirements within the country and in the international market and of functioning in conformity with changing requirements.

This is one aspect.

The second aspect concerns the company-based organization and **the task concerning the technological renewal of production and the other spheres.**

We do not need companies whose nameplates conceal plants, combines and other units with their old technological capacities. The company is an organization in which everything—from research and design to production and marketing—acquires a new quality from the viewpoint of technological renewal.

The issue at stake is the introduction, through the company-based organization, of new technologies into production and management, the introduction of everything of value that the leading countries have achieved.

For this reason, when we assess the proposals for setting up companies in the different branches, we must hold to these two principles:

First, the formation of the companies should not destroy the existing technological and production-economic links, which have proved their worth, and **second, the new company structures must raise these links to a new level,** and draw the processes of technological renewal forward.

Companies that do not reveal good possibilities and prospects for technological development and for their own self-financing in both national and convertible currency, cannot have any future. Sooner or later, they will perish. Proposals for forming such companies are based on old views and approaches. These companies are not needed, either in their specific field or for the national economy as a whole.

I would like to add the following on this subject.

As you know, a national headquarters staff was set up in connection with implementing in practice the decisions of the December plenum [1988—FBIS]. This staff will discuss the most important questions, including the proposals for setting up the company-based organization in the various national economic complexes.

It is not my aim here to make an analysis of the work of this headquarters staff. Regarding the proposals that it will discuss in the field of the company-based organization, I would like to stress that intensive work is going in, because we are well aware that the processes in this sphere must not be forgotten. However, at the same time, the position is being strongly defended within this headquarters that the proposed company structures must not be implemented in practice if they do not correspond to the requirements.

For example, a few days ago we were obliged to return for major redrafting the proposal for a company-based organization in the construction complex. Although it contained positive features, in essence the proposal, with a new exceptions, **represented a repetition of the previous structures in the construction complex, structures that are fundamentally bad.** In the main, the proposal was drafted from **departmental standpoints.**

The draft was not sufficiently in keeping with the trends of change in the nature of the investment process, with the need to reduce the amount of unfinished construction, with the directions for technological renewal of the capacities in the areas served, or with the conditions and demands for the construction complex to carry out its own technological renewal.

I gave this example not in order to heap reproaches upon the people who are drafting the relevant proposals and documents. It is clear that at this stage differences exist in both views and interests at the different levels. This is quite natural. There is a lack of experience, people are weighed down with the old stereotypes, and so on.

However, on this subject I would like to stress the following: In resolving the issues concerning setting up the company-based organization, we will firmly defend the criteria and postulates of the December plenum; this is also the line that we will consistently follow in establishing the company structures in trade, agriculture, the processing industry, and so on.

The third important aspect of the company-based organization is that we cannot develop its real advantages unless every company organically includes the so-called external factor in its own development.

No firm can ensure its own viability unless it integrates this factor within itself and assimilates it in the same way as technology experience and knowledge, intellect and management skills. This factor concerns the leading achievements that modern civilization has attained.

Unless we organically incorporate these achievements in our company structures, in the behavior of these structures, and in the criteria for their functioning, we will be unable to successfully open ourselves up to the world economy.

Experience, life itself, and the first steps show that there are no difficulties in those places where the external factor is mastered by the path of scientific and technical cooperation and production sharing with our partners. Quite the contrary, the mutual interests emerge more clearly and lastingly; financial and economic problems, including problems of foreign exchange, are resolved on a new basis; and there is a readiness to accept commitments relating to mutual investments in a businesslike manner.

Production sharing, production sharing, and production sharing! This is now the chief, deciding factor, although one should not underestimate the possibilities of acquired specialization in end products and their export.

Only on the basis of production sharing can we defend our position in the international division of labor in the present-day realities, both within the framework of

CEMA and, first and foremost, in our economic integration with the Soviet Union, and in the forthcoming economic unification of the EEC countries.

Unless we carry this policy through in both the strategic and tactical aspects, we will very soon find ourselves on the sidelines as regards the creation of a new technological base.

What do our first steps show?

This process is still at its initial stage, because the creation of the company-based organization has not been completed. We need time for our companies to establish themselves as partners in international intercourse. Not all the companies have sufficient cadre potential for international economic contacts.

However, notwithstanding these problems, which are natural for the present stage, **an intensification of economic activity for technological renewal by "opening up" to the world market is clearly emerging in Bulgaria.**

The contacts that have recently been established with a number of countries demonstrate a pronounced interest in the profound economic changes, at both governmental and company levels.

A number of companies from Western countries are showing interest, at least at the current stage, not only in developing their traditional trading links with Bulgaria, but also in developing joint investment activity and cooperation in carrying out major production and technological projects, training cadres for management, and so forth.

The revival and increasing activity must be converted into steady progressive work, in order that the company-based organization and the new approach toward developing international economic cooperation may play the strategic role outlined for them in the decisions of the December plenum.

It is now important that the integrated activity on our part at all levels—governmental and company levels, and by the banks—should continue with a clear realization of the national priorities in the structural renewal of the economy, with improved coordination, with speedier settlement of legal and administrative questions that arise, and with more active involvement of the municipalities.

In all this, we have to solve a single cardinal task.

This is the task of developing the forces of production of society, of raising them to a qualitatively new level.

At the December plenum it was pointed out that, however important production relations may be for development of the forces of production, it is the latter, the forces of production, that are the determining factor for the method of production. For this reason, neither production relations nor the forms of their economic implementation can run ahead of the forces of production. In order to develop some viable forms of organization in the economy, it is necessary to provide an adequate material and technical foundation, and an adequate foundation of individuals, for the system of the forces of production.

This methodological requirement is of crucial importance in the current reform of the economy.

As is well-known, we are reassessing a number of premises in the spirit of the July Concept. As a result, we have first of all made **a correction** to the thesis that, under the conditions of socialist property, it is sufficient to develop an economic mechanism.

We know how much this idea, which unfortunately still rules the consciousness of considerable numbers of cadres, cost us in terms of efforts, time, and errors committed. By painful experience, we established the truth that advance is possible when, in solving the problems, one comes down to production relations, and when the changes in these relations conform to the extent of development of the forces of production.

In the course of the preparations for the companies and their creation, the question was repeatedly raised of the forces of production, and of the need to take them into account when forming any particular company. This is quite correct. Unless we start from this point, the companies will sooner or later be left hanging in the air.

In the absence of a strategy in this area, all our efforts to create a modern material and technical base for the company-based organization will be at cross-purposes with the realities—both the domestic and the international ones. What we need now is not a plan for the individual branches, not a piecemeal plan, but **a general plan,** a plan to which the development of every branch and the interests of every company must be subordinated.

We must take into account the fact that we are living and working today in a fundamentally new situation, one which strongly demands that this strategy be followed at a national level, from the viewpoint of the **nature** of the contemporary forces of production, from the viewpoint of the **internationalization** of production, from the viewpoint of the **time factor**, and so forth.

This is now one of the important tasks facing the competent organs.

In concluding my discussion of this group of questions, I would like to stress yet again: **In concentrating our attention on the company-based organization as a revolutionary change in the economy and all other spheres of our**

development, including agriculture, intellectual life, and so on, it must be clear to us that technological renewal based on the contemporary scientific and technical revolution is the leading factor.

Accordingly, many of the present forms of management in agriculture, such as leasehold and, if you like, piecework, will undergo changes in the future. Changes will also be effected in the organization and payment that stem from the development of the forces of production. Naturally, this will take time.

Comrades, **it is evident that our work must now be chiefly directed at implementing the principles of the company-based organization in all spheres.**

We have already begun to carry out this process in industry.

By the present plenum, we will start things moving in agriculture.

We have next to establish our views regarding the intellectual sphere.

After this, we will develop into the social sphere, and so forth.

When we examine and resolve all these problems, we cannot underestimate or neglect the political situation in the country, or the questions of the party's leading and guiding role. Indeed, the situation in Bulgaria is calm, but this does not mean that we should disregard the pressing problems. This especially relates to the present stage of restructuring, where, in solving one set of contradictions, we encounter fresh ones.

It is for this reason that all the problems that are being raised at the present plenum are also political in nature, they are problems relating to our political line, to our political course in action—a course that we will continue to steadfastly follow in the future.

I voice confidence that the discussion at the plenum will be fruitful, and thank you for your attention.

Further Reportage on Visit by GDR Party Leader

Press Rounds Up Activities

AU0905091389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 May 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Room for Improving the Quality of Cooperation; the Friendly Working Visit of Erich Honecker to the CSSR; Talks Between Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker; Presentation of the Order of Karl Marx to Gustav Husak; Signing of an Agreement Between the CSSR and the GDR on the Cooperation of Young People"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday, at the invitation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived in Prague for a friendly working visit to the CSSR. The most senior GDR representative was accompanied by Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the State Council, Guenther Sieber and Gerd Schulz, heads of SED Central Committee departments, Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the Union of Free German Youth [FDJ] Central Council, and Hans Sattler, member of the GDR Council of Ministers.

The special aircraft, with the esteemed guests on board, landed at Ruzyne Airport, which was decorated with the state flags of the CSSR and the GDR, shortly before 0900. Erich Honecker was cordially welcomed by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Gustav Husak, CSSR president, Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, and other members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Karel Hoffmann and Jozef Lenart, Vasil Mohorita, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat, heads of CPCZ Central Committee departments, ministers of the CSSR Government, and other figures from our political and public life.

Then the highest GDR party and state representative accepted a bouquet of roses from Czechoslovak Pioneers and young members of the FDJ Pioneer Organization. Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador to the GDR, and Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR, were present at the welcoming ceremony.

In a Friendly and Active Atmosphere

Yesterday in Prague, talks took place between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. Both representatives referred to the significance and the necessity of regular meetings between the most senior representatives of both fraternal countries. They stressed that the traditionally high level of interparty contacts, the ideological concurrence of views, and a respect for the opinions and needs of the people of both countries make up the essence of mutual cooperation.

Comrade Milos Jakes reported on the tasks which the CPCZ and the whole of society are resolving at the present time. He said that Czechoslovak Communists and the overwhelming majority of the people support restructuring and understand it as a revolutionary process of the renewal and strengthening of socialism. They link with restructuring the decisive and energetic eradication of the shortcomings which are hindering our society in the advance forward and which are making life more difficult for the people. The process of formulating restructuring, said Milos Jakes, has not been completed and demands a steady stream of further creative stimuli. We are seeking them both at home in our own country and also from our friends, first and foremost, from the Soviet Communists. During their implementation we will consistently proceed from our democratic traditions and specific conditions. We have already undertaken many of the fundamental steps, including legislative ones, particularly in the economic sphere, in the superstructure, and in party work. Now we are creating prerequisites for substantial progress in scientific and technical development, to which one of the future CPCZ Central Committee sessions will be devoted.

When speaking about socialist development in the GDR, Comrade Erich Honecker said that even in the 40th year of its existence it is distinguished by stability, dynamism, and revolutionary renewal. Especially on the eve of communal elections and the peaceful meetings of the FDJ it is clear how the further implementation of the course of the unity of economic and social policy leads to higher output, guarantees all the citizens social assurances, and what great significance the SED attributes to the creative initiative of youth. The working people's trust in party policy is significantly manifested in high working performances.

During preparations for the 12th SED Congress, which will take place in May 1990, significant resolutions from the seventh Central Committee session are encouraging the further improvement of economic performance and the appeal of socialism in the GDR under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. Via its high political activity, the party is preparing for the purposeful and consistent achievement of these demanding aims even under complicated external conditions.

Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker talked about the fulfillment of the conclusions from their previous meeting in March 1988. They agreed that the first positive results are already being achieved. It is apparent that the comparative standard of living and the highly advanced nature of the economies of both countries are creating massive room for an improvement in the quality of mutual cooperation.

However, now the issue is that this cooperative potential be utilized even more for the satisfaction of the needs and demands of the people of both countries. The agreement between the CSSR and the GDR on the cooperation of CSSR and GDR youth, signed during the visit in the presence of youth representatives of both countries, corresponds to this aim.

The qualitatively higher development of cooperation among the young generation is the logical result of the policy of our fraternal parties and countries. Through this agreement new prospects are opening up in the deepening of friendly ties between the youth of our countries for the joint solution of tasks in science and technology, in learning and in study, in work, for sport and leisure, that is, everywhere where young people live and work.

Both representatives appraised the stable development of mutual economic contacts and discussed possibilities of how to more effectively utilize them in the intensification of economic development, in increasing the efficiency of the national economy, and especially in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. They see the main possibility in the quality preparation of the coordination of plans for the 1991-95 period, in the more demanding approach of all the partners toward the thorough realization of the agreed tasks, and in the even more effective enforcement of proven forms of various direct ties between manufacturing enterprises and research institutes.

The high state of specialization and cooperation in manufacturing and research has led to the creation of a solid base for the more intensive utilization of the existing potential of both countries.

Both sides agreed that it is essential to create prerequisites for the implementation of the agreements, recently signed by the heads of government of both countries, on the acceleration of the realization of the conclusions of cooperation in vital branches.

They expressed their agreement for the further expansion and improvement in the quality of direct contacts between regions, districts, factories, agricultural cooperatives, schools, and other institutions.

In connection with the possibilities for the further development of mutual tourism, both representatives referred to the work begun on the improvement of the accessibility of border crossings and access roads. They expressed their approval for the creation of such conditions in tourism which would contribute to the further rapprochement and better understanding between the peoples of both countries.

Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker expressed concurrent opinions in the evaluation of important problems of contemporary international policy. They appreciated that the positive tendencies in the development of the international situation are the result of the dynamic foreign policy course of the USSR and other socialist countries and of the activities of these states and social forces of the whole world which are guided by common sense and realism. At the same time, they expressed their anxiety over the constant attempts by influential NATO powers to achieve military superiority and to modernize their weapons. First and foremost, through the influence of these activities the international situation continues to be complicated and antagonistic. The public in the East and in the West is expecting a constructive reply from NATO to the unilateral disarmament initiatives and proposals of the Warsaw Pact states, recently submitted at the Berlin session of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

Depending on this development, both countries are gradually reducing by a considerable extent their expenditure on defense. They intend to jointly verify the possibilities for cooperation in using the means and capacities thus released in the interest of increasing the output of their economies and the better satisfaction of needs and to submit specific proposals for cooperation.

They highlighted the continued significance of the joint CSSR and GDR initiative for the creation of a nuclear free corridor and zone without chemical weapons in central Europe and the topicality of the Czechoslovak initiative aimed at the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states. They consider the prepared meeting of the heads of government of countries bordering the CSSR on environmental issues to be one of the examples of the fulfillment of this initiative.

During the meeting they discussed the situation and tasks of the international communist and workers movement, which is at the present time overcoming a very dynamic and complicated development. The new international situation and social processes in socialist, capitalist, and in developed countries confront the communist and workers parties with problems and tasks on whose solution depends the fates and prospects for peace and social progress.

In the opinion of both sides, the current situation requires the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the strategy of communist parties, their cooperation, and allied policies.

They announced their support for the broad exchange of opinions between parties, for the higher quality of the shaping of all forms of cooperation, for seeking and strengthening joint aspects in attitudes toward social democratic, leftist and democratic parties and movements in the interest of the survival of mankind and the resolution of global problems.

The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council invited the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee to visit the GDR. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The talks took place in a friendly, frank, comradely, and active atmosphere.

A Solemn Act

Yesterday, in Prague Castle, Gustav Husak, CSSR president, received Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Karel Hoffmann, Vasil Mohorita, Jaromir Johanes, and Frantisek Salda participated. Egon Krenz, Oskar Fischer, Eberhard Aurich, and Frank-Joachim Herrmann were present from the GDR side.

In a cordial and comradely conversation both statesmen discussed the situation and prospects for the development of relations between the two countries and exchanged opinions on the evaluation of contemporary international development. They appraised the high level of the development of bilateral contacts and the level of cooperation achieved in all spheres. They stated in agreement that the further intensification of collaboration between the CSSR and the GDR has an irreplacable significance for successful socialist construction in both countries. In this connection, they referred to the benefit of the exchange of experiences in various levels and in the broader implementation of higher forms of economic cooperation. Also in the conversation the concurrence of views was confirmed on contemporary international development and both states expressed their resolve to contribute in the greatest possible measure to the endeavor to guarantee continuing peace in Europe and in the world.

During the meeting Erich Honecker conferred upon Gustav Husak the Order of Karl Marx. The highest GDR honor was presented to him as a token of the appreciation of his effort to date in developing relations between the CSSR and the GDR and of his personal contribution toward strengthening fraternal friendship between the people of both countries.

Comrades Milos Jakes, Ladislav Adamec, Karel Hoffmann, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, Miroslav Zavadil, Frantisek Hanus, Zdenek Horeni, Marie Kabrhelova, Josef Mevald, Vasil Mohorita, Rudolf Rohlicek, Michal Stefanak, Jaromir Johanes, and Frantisek Salda participated in the ceremony. Egon Krenz, Oskar Fischer, Guenther Sieber, Eberhard Aurich, Frank-Joachim Herrmann, Gerd Schulz, and Hans Sattler, members of the entourage of the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, were present. Also present were the ambassadors of both countries, Frantisek Langer and Helmut Ziebart.

Strengthening of Friendly Relations

Comrades Milos Jakes, Erich Honecker, Marian Calfa, Hans Sattler, Vasil Mohorita, and Eberhard Aurich signed an agreement in Prague yesterday between the CSSR and the GDR on cooperation between youth. Also participating in the ceremony in the Cernin Palace were Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, and other members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Karel Hoffmann, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil; candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Josef Haman; secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Frantisek Hanus; members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat Zdenek Horeni, Marie Kabrhelova, Josef Mevald, and Rudolf Rohlicek and other representatives.

Also present were Egon Krenz, other members of the entourage of the most senior GDR representative, and the ambassadors of the two countries, Frantisek Langer and Helmut Ziebart. Also among the guests were more than 200 members of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] and the FDJ.

Emphasized in this document is the significant role of the young generation in strengthening friendly ties between socialist states, in the further drawing together of their peoples, and in the intensification of socialist economic integration.

The development of the forms and methods of cooperation between children and youth will be at the foundation of the agreement to support the appropriate state organs, organizations, and institutions and social organizations, particularly the SSM and the FDJ. Both of the signatories will undertake to impress upon the young generation that it should actively engage in the defense of peace and socialism and that it should actively contribute to the implementation of the policy of the CPCZ and the SED. As the basis for the cooperation of the young generation of the CSSR and the GDR, relations between the youth organizations of both countries are defined in the agreement.

Individual parts of the agreement concern, among other things, direct ties between young people from enterprises, collectives, and other organizations oriented toward scientific and technical progress, friendship contacts, tourism, and the exchanges of young people and cooperation in physical training and sport. Both sides will also support the activity of the trade union movement and social organizations in the interest of the education of the young generation, will aid the development of cooperation in education and science, will create conditions for the close collaboration of young people in the sphere of culture and art, and will contribute to the improvement of the quality and the expansion of journalistic information about youth.

The agreement sets both sides the task of creating the Council of Friendship which will be a joint coordinating organ to evaluate the state of its fulfillment and to submit to state organs, institutions and social organizations recommendations for the development of cooperation between the youth of both states.

They concluded the document for 10 years after which its validity will always be prolonged for another 5 years.

After signing the agreement Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker made speeches.

Then followed a short cultural program in which members of the folklore ensemble, Lucnica, the Weimar College of Music choir, and the Young Berlin Brass Quintet performed.

When it was finished Vasil Mohorita and Eberhard Aurich made speeches. They appreciated that the agreement creates broad prerequisites for the young people of both countries to get to know each other better, to advise each other on joint problems, to exchange experiences, and to form knew friendships and contacts. They have made sure that the SSM and the FDJ will do everything possible to ensure that the advantageous and prospective intentions and aims which the document contains will not remain only on paper. The first step toward their implementation was made by the signing of an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the SSM and the FDJ within the framework of the "Cooperation" program of the youth organizations of socialist countries.

Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker, the general secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee and the SED Central Committee, then stopped for short conversations with representatives of the SSM and the FDJ. "What do you think of the agreement which we have just signed?" Milos Jakes asked Kerstin Drenkhan, a student from the Dresden Pedagogic Institute. "We are very happy with it," she replied. "We already have relations on such a level with the youth of the Polish People's Republic and so we believe that now we will be able to develop even better our mutual contacts with friends in Czechoslovakia." "Certainly, that will be the case. The possibilities are wide-ranging," added Milos Jakes. In a conversation with members of the Lucnica group Erich Honecker was interested in whether the ensemble will also visit the GDR. He found out that Lucnica have an audience in a number of GDR cities and that their performances always meet with success and great appreciation. Representatives from FDJ organizations at the Dresden medical faculty also briefed Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker on their activity.

A pleasant framework for the informal discussions of the leading representatives of the CSSR and the GDR with the young people and for the discussion between the young people of both fraternal countries was created by the Spark song and dance group from the enterprise club of railway workers in Plzen and the Bratislava musical group, Lojzo.

On the same day talks took place between Karel Hoffmann and Egon Krenz. In their conversation, both representatives discussed the issue of the cooperation of the young generation of both countries. In this connection, they stressed the responsibility of party and state organs for the creation of conditions for the development of these ties in the sense of the agreement between the CSSR and the GDR on the cooperation of youth.

Michael Stefanak and Guenther Sieber, members of the Central Committees and heads of CPCZ Central Committee and SED Central Committee departments, discussed suggestions for the further intensification of cooperation between the CPCZ and the SED.

Jaromir Johanes and Oskar Fischer, the foreign ministers of the CSSR and the GDR, concentrated attention on the coordinated approach of both countries in fundamental foreign policy questions.

More than 200 young people, members of the CSSR SSM and the GDR FDJ, who had been present at the signing of the agreement between the CSSR and the GDR on the cooperation of youth, yesterday morning visited the National Memorial in Zizkov in Prague where they laid a wreath on the grave of the Unknown Soldier.

Then, the representatives of the young generation of both states got together in working conversations aimed at seeking paths to the development of further forms of cooperation.

Yesterday in Prague Vasil Mohorita and Eberhard Aurich signed protocols on cooperation between the SSM and the FDJ for the fulfillment of a joint program, with the name of Cooperation, of the fraternal unions of youth of the socialist countries, which is to aid the realization of CEMA scientific and technical and economic programs. The main intention of the adopted documents is to create prerequisites for the development of direct ties between the SSM and FDJ youth organizations from cooperating enterprises. The protocols specify the share of the young in the implementation of government programs of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the CSSR and the GDR and are the first response to the agreement between the CSSR and the GDR on the cooperation of youth, which Milos Jakes, Erich Honecker, and other representatives signed.

Homeward Bound

Yesterday evening Erich Honecker completed his friendly working visit to the CSSR, which had taken place at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec and other members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Karel Hoffmann and Jozef Lenart, Vasil Mohorita, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat, leaders of the CPCZ Central Committee departments, ministers of the CSSR Government, and other figures from our political and public life bade farewell to the most senior GDR party and state representative and members of his suite at Ruzyne Airport. At Ruzyne Airport, which was decorated with CSSR and GDR state flags, Czechoslovak Pioneers also bade farewell to the esteemed guests and presented them with bouquets of flowers. Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador to the GDR, and Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR, were also present.

At the end of the visit Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker held a news conference.

In reply to the question, in what did he see prospects for cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the GDR, Erich Honecker said that this cooperation was a focal point of the joint talks which have strengthened even more the future of its development. First of all, of course, we talked about our contribution to resolving the most important issue of today, that is the preservation of peace. We are completely agreed on this, just as we are on all the steps which the Warsaw Pact states have begun to take toward this, especially the Soviet Union, led by Mikhail Gorbachev. We stated that our proposals for a nuclear-free zone, a corridor without chemical weapons, and a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO are favorable for further development and we stressed the necessity of continuing without respite in the struggle for disarmament.

Milos Jakes highly praised the talks which he conducted with Erich Honecker. He said that we can develop further cooperation on a good and firm basis. We discussed, first and foremost, how to further proceed in mutual collaboration in the economy and in other spheres, he stressed. Economic cooperation so far is on a solid level but there is unused potential. First of all, we see this in the intensification of cooperation between our enterprises via direct ties and the broad exchange of the people of both countries, mainly through the development of tourism, is also important.

Milos Jakes termed the signing of the agreement between the CSSR and the GDR on the cooperation of youth a new phenomenon in mutual cooperation. He expressed his conviction that it will create remarkably favorable conditions for the youth of both our countries to cooperate closely, that it will contribute to its activation, to the development of its participation in the construction of our countries, and to the strengthening of internationalism in the education of young people.

In response to a question concerning CSSR and GDR international peace initiatives, Milos Jakes confirmed their continuing validity. He said that cooperation in this sphere is very broad. Our joint proposals are well known, some are even with the FRG Social Democrats for creating a nuclear-free zone, a zone free from chemical weapons, and other proposals which proceed especially from the policy of the Warsaw Pact states and are inspired, first and foremost, by the Soviet peace initiatives. We want to further consistently implement them.

Among other things, we are proceeding by example in disarmament also, said Milos Jakes. I have in mind the reduction in the number of conventional weapons. In this sphere, unfortunately, we are still waiting on an active response from the NATO countries. We are striving to ensure that the solution to the problem of the preservation and the strengthening of world peace goes ahead in the interest of the Czechoslovak people and all the inhabitants of our planet. From this point of view our peace proposals are not some limited decision but, on the contrary, are topical and are valid. However, the problems will not resolve themselves.

Later Erich Honecker expressed his deep satisfaction over the conclusion of the agreement, which is not only a confirmation of the results so far in this sphere but indicates the path of cooperation between CSSR and GDR youth far into the future. In conclusion he stressed that great tasks await the CSSR and GDR not only in strengthening our socialist community but also with a view to continuing dialogue with all Western states, and in striving to ward off a nuclear catastrophe. We are for disarmament without respite both in the nuclear sphere and also in the sphere of conventional forces.

Honecker Concludes Visit

LD0305200289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 3 May 89

[Text] Prague (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, ended his friendly working visit to the CSSR late this afternoon.

Along with the members of his delegation, he was given a fraternal send-off at Prague-Ruzyne Airport by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, by CSSR President Gustav Husak, and by Premier Ladislav Adamec.

Other leading members of the Czechoslovak party and state leadership were also present.

Honecker Visit to Prague Assessed

AU0905101589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 May 89 p 7

[Jan Kovarik commentary in the "We Comment" column: "Balancing, and Looking Forward"]

[Text] In the series of regular meetings between top CSSR and GDR party representatives, meeting between

Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker in Prague, on Wednesday [3 May] was particularly remarkable because of the signing of the CSSR-GDR Treaty on Youth Cooperation, a document that looks far into the future, while at the same time affecting the interests of millions of young people in our two states. It is an expression of the higher level of relations between our countries, but also the fulfillment of the legacy of preceding generations, characterized by such figures as Klement Gottwald and Wilhelm Pieck. The treaty itself is a logical result of our many years of collaboration, based on common class ideas and on our belonging to the socialist community.

The Prague talks provided an opportunity for us to take stock of all that has been accomplished since the meeting last March, as well as to think about our present and future bilateral relations and also about international developments, in which our parties and countries are actively involved.

The bustle and search for the optimum ways and methods of developing the socialist society are part of today's life in Czechoslovakia and in the GDR, but also in other fraternal countries. Each of them proceeds from its own traditions and history, from its status in the international arena, and from the level achieved in its political, economic, and also cultural development. This diversity contains both rich experience and successes, but also errors, and this treasury stands at the disposal of the socialist community and its individual members—representing a guideline, living experience. And it is up to them whether, and how far, they make use of this our common treasury in setting their course toward our common goal, the socialist society.

That is why Comrades Jakes and Honecker devoted such particular attention to the exchange of experience and views and to the situation in their respective countries, in the international communist and workers movement, as well as generally in the world. And if they appraised their negotiations as cordial and comradely, then this also means that they have listened attentively to their partner's arguments and conclusions and reflected upon them. They came to the conclusion that the "comparable living standards and the high levels of economic development in both countries open up vast scope for improving the quality of mutual cooperation." To breathe life into these words is the task of institutions, and above all of direct relations between enterprises, university-level schools, and cultural establishments, but also of meetings between individuals, and especially young people. Specialization and cooperation are not unknown terms in our relations; they should become the foundation of the joint fulfillment of the agreements recently signed by the premiers of the two countries, so that every citizen will feel the contribution of these agreements to the domestic market.

The geographic position of both Czechoslovakia and the GDR in the middle of Europe makes it of vital interest to both countries that the international situation on our continent become normalized and the policy of confrontation during the past years be consistently replaced by understanding and cooperation between countries with different social systems. We are living in the most sensitive part of Europe. That is why the CSSR and GDR have submitted proposals to set up a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in central Europe; that is why Czechoslovakia has come out with the initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the two military organizations, and with the proposal to invite the heads of governments from the surrounding countries to Prague, for negotiations on environmental protection. Likewise, this was the reason for the unilateral disarmament steps of the socialist states. While the Western reaction to all these initiatives has varied; one thing can be said—despite the complicated international situation, the energetic foreign policy pursued by the socialist states is yielding the first fruit in the form of positive trends in the international arena.

It is the politicians' duty to think about developments and to draw appropriate conclusions, to be aware of responsibility for decisions. This approach characterized the negotiations between Comrades Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker; and this is also how we want to approach the fulfillment of conclusions following from the visit paid by the top GDR representative to Czechoslovakia.

Ambassador Ehrenberger Holds News Conference

AU0805205189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 May 89 p 5

[Gejza Vilcek dispatch: "Contribution to the Provision of Information; Meeting the Hungarian Journalists"]

[Text] Budapest (By our permanent reporter)—Vlastimil Ehrenberger, CSSR ambassador to the Hungarian People's Republic, yesterday [5 May] met the Hungarian press in Budapest on the occasion of the approaching 44th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia. The talk in the Czechoslovak Cultural and Information Center was attended by such prominent Czechoslovak experts in the fields of history, economy, and nationality issues as Professor Zdenek Haba from the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Vaclav Cada from the Advanced School of Politics of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], and Juraj Zvara from the Bratislava Faculty of the CPCZ Central Committee Advanced School of Politics.

The CSSR ambassador briefed the assembled journalists extensively on developments in Czechoslovakia, stressing those issues which are little known in the Hungarian People's Republic or issues about which either unclear or erroneous information had appeared in the country. He pointed out that the very same people are now standing behind the efforts of opposition forces in Czechoslovakia as in 1968. Many mass information media abroad are providing publicity for these individuals, praising only things which have a negative impact on socialism and criticizing everything that is helping to strengthen socialist development.

Apart from some other things, he also provided data on the life of the Hungarian national minority in Czechoslovakia. In connection with the economic cooperation between our countries, he underscored the significance of direct relations between individual enterprises and expressed regret about their slow development. Speaking of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project, which is often viewed with doubts in the Hungarian People's Republic, he stated that the CSSR would most unwillingly resort to the demand for a compensation for losses incurred by our country because of the failure to build the Nagymaros barrage.

In reply to questions, the participants in the talk did not evade sensitive issues which have recently roused the public opinion both in the Hungarian People's Republic and in our own country. It was clearly stated that, for instance, one can get any number of copies of the "2000 Words" manifesto [of 1968] in Budapest, but that the document "Lessons From the Critical Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress" is practically unknown to the public. Both historians and experts still have a lot of evaluating about the past in the Hungarian People's Republic and in the CSSR to do, for the facts known to date have not yet closed the chapter of 1968. The participants in the talk were presented with unknown data on A. Dubcek's activities when he was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party, and when he swept off the table, by a single gesture, the demands for a positive solution of minorities' demands. In the end the nationality issue was resolved by a constitutional law after the defeat of the Czechoslovak counterrevolution.

Leaders Send Greetings to USSR on Anniversary

AU0905100789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 May 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations on the Anniversary of Victory"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee; Gustav Husak, CSSR president; and Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier; sent Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, a congratulatory telegram with the following text on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler's fascism and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army:

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the president, the Government, the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and on my own behalf we are sending you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and all the fraternal Soviet people our sincere comradely greetings and cordial congratulations on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler's fascism and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army.

The image of the glorious May days of 1945 will forever remain preserved in the memory of our nations. With deep pride and gratitude we are remembering today those who brought freedom to our homeland and the great number of those who paid the supreme price—with their lives.

Freedom, originating in the joint struggle against fascism, opened up new prospects before the people of Czechoslovakia. The subsequent 44 peaceful years have been a period of honest and creative work in the construction of a socialist society. The present places new tasks before us, it demands new courses of action and bold deeds. The road of economic and social restructuring along which, under the leadership of the CPSU, the Soviet Union went first, is for us stimulating and inspiring. Our endeavors are directed toward the same aim—toward the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country and the further improvement of the standard of living of the people, toward strengthening socialism as a dynamically developing and deeply democratic social system. The 18th CPCZ Congress, whose preparation we have begun this year, will realistically evaluate the results achieved and will set out the aims for the further development of comprehensive restructuring and democratization.

We associate the advance of our society with comprehensive cooperation with with the fraternal countries of the socialist community, first and foremost, with the Soviet Union. The recent meeting between the general secretaries of the Central Committees of our communist parties graphically demonstrated the firmness of our friendship and alliance as well as our resolve to strive under the new conditions to ensure that mutual collaboration further contributes to the socialist development of our countries and is a significant example toward raising the appeal of socialism in the world.

We are aware that the primary condition for fulfilling our aims and intentions is the strengthening of peace and security in the world. We welcome the positive changes which recently, under the influence of the new political thinking, have been manifested in international relations. A decisive factor contributing to this is the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries enhanced by the revolutionary process of restructuring and democratization. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to actively participate in the joint effort to improve relations between states with diverse social systems and to remove all barriers preventing the fruitful and peaceful cooperation between nations.

Dear comrades,

On the eve of the 44th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, a historic milestone deeply imprinted into the histories of our nations, we wish you, the fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the people of your country, happiness and peace, and new successes in the restructuring and democratization of society.

Order of Day Given on Liberation Anniversary

AU0905102189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
7 May 89 pp 1, 2

["Order of the President of the Republic; On the 44th Anniversary of the Culmination of the National Liberation Struggle of the Czechoslovak People and of the Liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army"]

[Text] Comrades members of the Armed Forces

Czechoslovak Socialist Republic!

May 9 1945 has become one of the most remarkable days of our modern history. The liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, together with the heroic struggle of the working people against fascism, enabled the Czechoslovak state to be re-established on new, popular democratic principles and created conditions for deep revolutionary changes in society. The peoples of Czechoslovakia, who were among the first victims of Nazi aggression, never reconciled themselves to fascist subjugation. At the forefront of the national liberation struggle stood the working class led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]. From the very beginning it conducted, jointly with patriotic forces, an irreconcilable and selfless struggle for the restoration of national freedom and state independence. In the illegal movement, in the ranks of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Unit in the USSR, in the Slovak National Uprising, in the May uprising of the Czech people, and in other fronts of the Second World War their participants demonstrated great moral rectitude, courage, resolve, and sacrifice.

We will never forget that it was the Soviet Union which, at the cost of the largest number of victims, contributed in a decisive manner to the defeat of fascism and the liberation of our homeland. This heroic victory not only saved the nations of Europe from slavery and preserved world civilization but it also led to a penetrating change in the balance of power in the world to the benefit of peace and social progress.

Favorable conditions were created for the struggle of the working masses for national and social liberation. A world socialist system evolved. The broad upswing of the national liberation movement led to the dissolution of the colonial system of imperialism. These remarkably outstanding political factors significantly influence the shape of the world and the nature of the processes which are taking place in it.

The CPCZ linked the struggle for national liberation with the prospective struggle for the social liberation of the workers and the construction of a truly popular Czechoslovak state. With the restoration of national liberation and state independence of Czechoslovakia in May 1945 there arose the prerequisites for the gradual transition to socialist revolution. Victorious February definitively opened the way for socialism. With the construction of a massive socialist industry, the industrialization of Slovakia, and the collectivization of agriculture, conditions significantly changed for the satisfaction of the social and cultural needs of working people.

At the same time, under the leadership of the CPCZ, we embarked upon the road of the revolutionary restructuring of our society whose aim is the intensification and modernization of the national economy, the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country, and the strengthening of socialism as a dynamically developing and deeply democratic political system. Its basis is a further improvement of the standard of living of the people, the strengthening of their social security, the creation of conditions for the harmonious development of the individual, and the intensification of the socialist way of life. The realization of the outlined tasks requires great effort, the activity and initiative of all the working people, including members of the Armed Forces, an increase in responsibility, good organization, and discipline, and close adherence to law and order.

The lessons from the Second World War have a continuous validity. At the present time, the struggle for world peace has a universally human character. The new political thinking, enforced by the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, is bringing realistic results in the effort for peaceful reconstruction of international relations. The measures adopted by the USSR, the CSSR, and the other member states of the Warsaw Pact for a reduction in the number of personnel, tanks, and other military hardware not only accentuate the defensive orientation of the Armed Forces and increase the authority of socialism in the world but they also create conditions for the further development of cooperation between states with diverse social systems. Similar constructive steps from the side of the North Atlantic pact states would also indisputably contribute to the acceleration of this process.

The entire stability and security of our countries requires that we implement new approaches in the development of socialism and toward the strengthening of its defense capability. At the same time, we are obliged, in light of the present military and political situation, to maintain our Armed Forces on such a level that they are capable, within the internationalist union of the Armies of the Warsaw Pact, of repulsing any kind of external attack. This requires that in the CSSR Armed Forces the process of restructuring is also consistently asserted, that a creative atmosphere is created for achieving high quality and efficiency in the training and education of its members, in increasing its military readiness, and in the fulfilling of tasks for the benefit of the national economy.

Comrade members of the Armed Forces
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic!

I congratulate you on the 44th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army.

Guard vigilantly the immortal legacy of the joint antifascist struggle of our nations. In the interest of further strengthening peace and socialism develop cooperation with the Soviet Army and the other Armies of the Warsaw Pact member states. Actively contribute to the fulfillment of tasks of the training year, the year of the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people, the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, and the state festival of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic we are ordering the firing of a 20-gun salute on 8 May 1989 at 2000 in the capital city of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Prague, and the capital city of the Slovak Socialist Republic, Bratislava.

In the spirit of the revolutionary and military traditions of our people, the CPCZ, and Armed Forces, fulfill your patriotic and internationalist duty for the defense of socialism and peace.

Let our friendship, cooperation, and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and our combat friendship with their Armed Forces be strong and fortified.

Jakes Receives Red Cross Committee Chairman

LD0605224489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, received today in Prague Imrich Hatiar, chairman of the Czechoslovak Red Cross Federal Committee Presidium. He briefed Jakes on the results of the 10th Czechoslovak Red Cross Congress and delivered a greetings letter to the party Central Committee from the delegates. Comrade Milos Jakes praised the results of the congress deliberations and highlighted the devoted work and high social and public involvement of the Czechoslovak Red Cross' members. He stressed that this organization, as a significant body of the National Front, fulfilled important tasks in the development of our socialist society, took a significant share—in harmony with its humanist mission—in improving health and social care for citizens, and through its activities also gained authority on an international scale.

He also noted that there was the need to continue increasing the participation of the organization's members in health education, to help people to acquire correct attitudes toward health care, and to develop the Red Cross' work, especially among young people. Comrade Milos Jakes wished all members of the Czechoslovak Red Cross all success in improving the organization's work for social welfare.

PLO's Salah Khalaf Visits, Talks With Rohlicek

Received by Rohlicek

AU0505154189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 May 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat and deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, received Abu Iyad [Salah Khalaf], deputy chief commander of the Palestinian Armed Forces, in Prague on Tuesday [2 May]. He briefed his guest on the topical tasks of the National Front in the present period. The Palestinian representative informed him about the course of the Palestinian uprising in the Israeli occupied-territories. They also discussed the further expansion of cooperation between the CSSR National Front and the PLO.

PLO Radio on Meeting

JN0505201989 Baghdad Voice of the PLO in Arabic 1630 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Brother Abu Iyad [Salah Khalaf], member of Fatah's Central Committee, has held a lengthy meeting in Prague with Comrade Rudolph Rohlicek, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Secretariat and deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front. Abu Iyad briefed Comrade Rohlicek on the explosive state of affairs in the occupied Palestinian territories and the mounting Zionist repression and terror against our defenseless people who have been pursuing their popular intifadah [uprising] for nearly 18 months. Abu Iyad also explained political developments on the Palestinian, Arab, and international levels, against the backdrop of the Palestinian political initiative.

Comrade Rohlicek reiterated his country's principled, constant position of supporting the Palestinian struggle and valiant intifadah against occupation as well as its support for the Palestinian peace initiative and the declaration of the independent Palestinian state.

Visits Students Union

AU0505154389 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 3 May 89 p 2

["jan"-signed report in the "Briefs" column]

[Text] Abu Iyad [Salah Khalaf], deputy chief commander of the Palestinian Armed Forces, paid a visit to the Secretariat of the International Union of Students yesterday [2 May]. He highly appreciated the fact that the solidarity program with the Palestinian uprising, recently adopted by dozens of nationwide students' unions of the socialist, capitalist, and developing countries, also includes worldwide mass actions for the reopening of Palestinian schools and expedient assistance to young Palestinians injured as a consequence of Israeli terror. Abu Iyad was received by R. Rohlicek, member of the Secretariat of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, yesterday afternoon.

News Conference Held on Trade With Poland

AU0805203589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 May 89 p 7

[CTK report: "Poland—Our Second Largest Trade Partner"]

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)— Trade turnover between Czechoslovakia and Poland exceeded R3.4 billion last year. By this volume of trade exchange, the Polish People's Republic ranks second among Czechoslovakia's main trading partners. [passage omitted]

Machinery and equipment represent the main item in mutual trade exchange, accounting for a full 75 percent of the volume. About 23,000 Polish builders are currently working on CSSR territory, constructing industrial facilities or reconstructing historical monuments. It was critically pointed out at the press conference that the proportion of higher forms of collaboration, such as specialization and production sharing, is low. A certain mutual distrust of the fulfillment of commitments by partner organizations was described as one of the main causes of this state of affairs. [passage omitted]

Representatives of the People's Polish Republic's Embassy in the CSSR, the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade, and the Poznan Fairs briefed journalists on these facts at a press conference in Prague on Wednesday [3 May].

Prosecutor's Appeal in Political Trial Rejected

AU0805123389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 May 89 p 2

["jk"-signed report in the "By Telex, Mail, Telephone" column]

[Text] A tribunal of judges of the Regional Court in Brno discussed on Tuesday [2 May] the city prosecutor's appeal against the verdict which acquitted defendant Engineer Eva Vidlarova of the charge of attempting to frustrate the execution of an administrative decision. The indictment charged her with attempting to frustrate the prosecution of defendant P.C. and the purpose of his custody. Having considered the prosecutor's objections to the verdict and having reassessed the evidence, the court of appeal reached the conclusion that it was not proved that Eng E. Vidlarova had committed the offense. The prosecutor's appeal was rejected as unfounded.

'Anti-Party Activity' in People's Party Condemned

AU0805123589 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 3 May 89 p 1

["re"-signed report: "From a Session of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak People's Party"]

[Excerpts] At the 23d session of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL], which was held in Prague yesterday, Brother Zbynek Zalman, CSL chairman, evaluated the course of May Day celebrations, stressing that, by their participation and approach, the working people had clearly shown their determination to participate in the development and restructuring of economic and social life in our country. [passage omitted] In conclusion the Presidium discussed the current situation in the party and unanimously and vigorously condemned all anti-party activity, particularly the dissemination of diverse materials and the organization of signature-collecting pressure actions disrupting unity in the CSL.

3 Civil Rights Activists Arrested After Protest

AU0905091889 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 9 May 89 p 2

[KATHPRESS report: "Czech Civil Rights Activists Arrested"]

[Text] Prague—After having participated in a May demonstration of the opposition, Czechoslovak civil rights activist Stanislav Devaty was arrested. His arrest was officially reported on Saturday [6 May], Devaty's relatives stated in Prague. However, three other participants in the demonstration were released, it was reported. Devaty, a former Charter 77 spokesman, was only released from Brno prison on 14 April.

On Saturday, the well-known civil rights activists Petr Uhl and Anna Sabatova were arrested at a vacation house near the Polish border where they wanted to meet Polish friends.

Measures To Protect Ozone Layer Introduced

AU0805142389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 May 89 p 1

[Zdenek Vavra report: "CSSR Contribution Toward Protecting the Ozone Layer"]

[Excerpt] Helsinki (By our special reporter)—The Montreal Protocol on substances that disturb the ozone layer is a good and most necessary document. However, this does not mean that it should not be further improved. In this spirit, the representatives of 80 countries of the world are currently in Helsinki discussing the problems of cutting down the production and use of Freons. Engineer Jan Zelenka, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, spoke in the discussion on Wednesday [3 May].

He stressed that the Czechoslovak institutions and the country's industry have been keeping an eye on damage to the ozone layer from the very beginning. It is known that the major part of Freons used in the CSSR comes from aerosols. Our country began using carbon dioxide as the propellant in certain kinds of atomizers as far back as 1981. We were the first country in the world to develop double-acting atomizer mechanisms, and their production in the CSSR is expanding. During the last few years, thanks to these measures, the use of the harmful kinds of Freons—chlorofluorocarbons (CFC)—in our country increased only negligibly, and on the whole is very low: The annual per capita consumption amounts to a mere 0.5 kilograms.

J. Zelenka then stated that Czechoslovakia has already started producing apparatus to trap Freons during the repair of refrigerator appliances and from discarded refrigerators. Already this year we will be diluting the Freons used in atomizers by light hydrocarbons, while providing for the incombustibility of the mixture. All these measures will enable Czechoslovakia to ensure the implementation of the first stage of the Montreal Protocol, set for 30 June 1993.

Czechoslovakia is resolved to adhere to the conditions of the Montreal Protocol; after an appropriate discussion of all the technical and economic issues by the Federal Government, we can expect the Montreal protocol to be accepted by our country. [passage omitted]

Honecker, Leaders Attend Liberation Function

LD0805102189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0900 GMT 08 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the 44th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from Hitler fascism, the GDR ceremoniously honored the fighters against war and Nazi barbarism. The GDR party and state leadership and thousands of working people Monday morning laid wreaths at the memorial for the fallen Soviet heroes in Berlin-Treptow and the memorial of the Polish soldier and the German anti-fascist in Berlin's Friedrichshain people's park.

The march to the Treptow memorial was headed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State; SED Polituro members Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo; other members of the Council of Ministers, the Council of State, and the People's Chamber Presidium and generals and officers of the GDR armed organs.

The wreath laying was attended by USSR Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov; Army General Boris Snetkov, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG); Lieutenant General Nikola Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the GSFG Political Directorate; and other Soviet Army generals and officers.

'Festive Function' Held

LD0805154589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1407 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A festive function to mark the 44th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from Hitler fascism began this afternoon in Berlin. The function was hosted by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the GDR National Front. In the German State Opera Unter den Linden, the participants extended a cordial welcome to Erich Honecker, general secretry of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State; other members of the GDR party and state leadership; and representatives of the USSR and its Armed Forces. The officials and meritorious workers, members of the National People's Army, and veterans of the workers' movement took their seats on the platform.

The festive function began with the playing of the USSR and GDR national anthems. The address is being given by Kurg Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Kessler Sends Congratulations

LD0605173489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1538 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—The 44th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union in the Great War of the Fatherland and the liberation of the German people from fascism was celebrated on Saturday by the Supreme Command of the GSFG [Group of Soviet Forces in Germany] in a gala event at Wuensdorf (GDR Bezirk of Potsdam).

The congratulations message from the GDR party and state leadership was conveyed by Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler. It reads: "With the destruction of the fascist aggressor, the Soviet people and their Armed Forces accomplished a liberating deed of global historical importance. It also opened up to our people the prospect of a life in peace and socialism." In its 40th year, the GDR showed itself, on the borderline of the two social systems in the heart of Europe, as a cornerstone of socialism and peace, and as a dependable partner of the USSR and the other socialist states allied in the Warsaw Pact. Its singleminded action aided the strengthening of the socialist community and its military coalition as well as the strengthening of international security. The GDR gave full and total support to the many USSR initiatives for securing peace and progress with disarmament. "The GDR sees it also as a priority future concern to incessantly deepen the close fraternal bond with the party and country of Lenin, and the Soviet forces," it stresses. [quotation marks as received]

In the gala address, Army Gen Boris Snetkov, commander in chief of the GSFG, lauded the heroic struggle of the Soviet people in the great patriotic war against Hitler's fascism. The world-historic liberation deed was never forgotten and was a stimulus to the present generation of soldiers to protect socialism and to secure peace with their best performances. His people's yearning for peace was also attested to by the unilateral disarmament initiative outlined by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations. It also provides for the withdrawal of Soviet units and divisions from the GDR. In the future as well, the soldiers of the GSFG will fulfill their internationalist duty together with their brothers in arms in the GDR's National People's Army in an honorable way.

Greetings to USSR on Victory

LD0805192389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR fully supports the Soviet Union's constructive and far-reaching initiatives for peace, disarmament, and detente. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, emphasize this in a telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the 44th anniversary of the victory of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War and of the liberation of the German people from fascism.

The GDR sees it as a primary requirement to work actively to pave the way to the removal of confrontation through advantageous cooperation by all countries, the telegram says.

The leading GDR officials state that on the whole "intense and diverse exemplary relations of great dynamism" are developing between the fraternal parties and the two states. "The close fraternal bond with the party and the land of Lenin, and the firm establishment of the world of socialism are and remain the unshakable basis of the successful development of the GDR." Here the "path of the further formation of the developed socialist society, characterized by continuity and renewal" is emphasized. Thus the people of the GDR are making their contribution to the further strengthening of socialism and to the consolidation of peace.

It is firmly rooted in the consciousness of GDR citizens that the Soviet people made the greatest sacrifices in the fight against fascism. The legacy of the Soviet liberators lives on in the deeds of the Communists and workers of the GDR. In their telegram Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph wish all the Communists and workers of the Soviet Union "much success in the strengthening of socialism and in the safeguarding of peace".

Leaders Vote in Local Elections; 'High Turnout'

LD0705121189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1051 GMT 7 May 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Today's elections to the district assemblies, town assemblies, urban district assemblies, and parish bodies in the GDR were typified by a high turnout this morning. [passage omitted]

In polling station No. 19 of the Berlin 2 constituency, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Central Committee Politburo members Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, were welcomed with flowers when they voted. [passage omitted]

North Korean Paper Interviews Honecker

SK0705081789 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0810 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] Pyongyang May 7 (KCNA)—Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the State Council of the GDR, answered questions put by Kim Chong-suk, editor-in-chief of MINJU CHOSON, on a visit to the GDR on April 24.

Referring to the Korean people's struggle for peace and peaceful reunification, he said:

The German Democratic Republic has long since followed with deep interest and sympathy the many-sided efforts constantly made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for peace and security on the Korean peninsula.

We fully support your country's policy to reunify Korea peacefully without outside interference and your people's efforts to ease the military tension in this region.

We estimate the DPRK's proposals to convert the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone, hold tripartite talks involving the DPRK, the United States and South Korea and adopt a non-aggression declaration with South Korea as constructive ones and as ones that accord with the demand of times. The DPRK made those proposals and unilaterally cut down armed forces. This shows that the demand for the withdrawal of the U.S. forces from South Korea along with their weapons is more urgent. This will create conditions favorable for a useful political dialogue to debate on matters of concern for both sides and for the convocation of a political consultative meeting of leadership-level people in the North and the South.

Expressing the belief that Korean friends will host most excellently the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students [WFYS], he said:

Young people of the German Democratic Republic have long since energetically prepared themselves to participate in the 13th WFYS.

They will take an active part in this international event unparalelled in the number of participants and diversity of political and world outlook.

Referring to the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries, he said: The parties, states and peoples of our two countries are closely united with each other because of their common goal and through wide-range, diversified and mutually beneficial cooperation from forty years ago.

We have always been faithful friends and comrades-in-arms of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and will remain so.

The relations between our two countries are now comprehensively and energetically developing on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed in 1984 and of agreements reached at meetings of me and Comrade Kim Il-song, our close friend, he stressed.

E. Berlin Daily Views NATO Missile 'Quarrel'

AU0505180589 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 3 May 89 p 4

[Bo Adam article: "Hectic Weeks Within NATO. The New Quarrel Over Nuclear Weapons—a Tactical Maneuver or an Expression of Profound Conflicts of Interest?"]

[Text] FRG citizens hardly agree more on an issue than they do on the dubiousness of nuclear armament. Nine out of 10 voters want negotiations instead of missiles. This issue does not directly have anything to do with local or EC elections. However, that did not prevent Chancellor Kohl in a difficult situation—2 days prior to land Diet elections in Hamburg and the Rhineland Palatinate (!) in 1987—from suddenly demanding the third zero-solution for nuclear weapons, very much to the surprise of his foreign minister. Following the election defeat, the chancellor's official statement was quickly dropped and was never mentioned again. Now the Bonn Government does not intend to negotiate on a zero-solution either; it only wants to negotiate on a reduction of tactical nuclear weapons.

Yet the current NATO quarrel cannot be reduced to such showpieces of bourgeois understanding of democracy. Essentially, the differences are about how the Western alliance should respond to the socialist states' disarmament proposals, because these are supported by the majority of the people in practically all the NATO members. The discussion on short-range nuclear weapons has developed a dynamism of its own which makes it a test case for the alliance's basic capability to ensure peace. Nobody can make it convincingly clear to the West European (and, by the way, also East European) citizens why NATO continues to arm after the INF Treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles has initiated nuclear disarmament, after the Warsaw Pact has unilaterally started to reduce its conventional armament, and after negotiations are now being held in Vienna on further reductions to achieve both sides' inability to attack.

To understand what is inexplicable we must know that so far the responsible people in Brussels, Washington, and elsewhere have not revised their war scenarios—neither the concept of "forward defense," nor the "in-depth attack" on enemy territory, nor the principle of the nuclear first strike. Here, short-range nuclear weapons play a decisive role. During the recent Wintex-Cimex maneuvers in the FRG the use of these weapons was "rehearsed" once again—on the seventh and last day of the last war in Europe. NATO circles call this a "nuclear warning shot."

Warsaw Pact Ready for Talks

Those who stick to such theoretical models cannot want to remove the tactical nuclear weapons from Europe. Accordingly, those countries in the Atlantic alliance which hope to escape in the event of war are opposed to the affected countries on the continent. In these latter countries a growing number of responsible politicians see in the Warsaw Pact's readiness for negotiations an opportunity to get out of the home-made dilemma of assured nuclear self-destruction.

Is a compromise at all possible between these two positions? A dubious compromise is! An example in this respect would be the notorious NATO two-track decision which made deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles a prerequisite for talks. This time a linkage could be established between the deployment of new missiles and progress in the Vienna negotiations on conventional disarmament—and then it would be up to the disarmament opponents within NATO to prevent such progress.

A real breakthrough would only come about if NATO were to be ready to thoroughly reconsider its overall strategy. However, several weeks prior to the Brussels summit there are no indications that it is.

Foreign Trade Minister Meets Polish Counterpart

AU0805203189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 May 89 p 4

[Text] Gerhard Beil, foreign trade minister of the GDR, met with Dominik Jastrzebski, Polish minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation, on Wednesday [3 May].

The two sides praised the contractual implementation of important positions in the fields of export and import that are of significance to both countries regarding supplies to industry and the population. Starting from this, the two politicians discussed the current tasks to guarantee the implementation of the annual trade protocol for 1989.

Both sides stated that it was necessary to further purposefully increase the contractual lead for 1990, particularly in the field of machine construction.

Deputy Defense Minister Visits Austria

AU0805093789 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 7 May 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Visitor From the GDR"]

[Text] Colonel General Horst Stechbarth, GDR deputy defense minister, will begin a 5-day official visit to the Austrian Federal Army on Monday [8 May].

According to a Defense Ministry statement, he thereby reciprocates a visit of Army Commander General Hannes Philipp to the National People's Army in the fall of 1987.

Tisch Holds Talks With FRG TU Officials

LD0905131689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1212 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—Official talks between a delegation of the National Executive of the GDR trade union organization FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] headed by its chairman Harry Tisch, and a delegation of the National Executive of the German Employees' Trade Union [DAG] headed by its chairman, Roland Issen, began in Berlin on Tuesday. In a constructive exchange of views, trade union tasks in the GDR and FRG as well as problems of the international trade union movement were discussed.

The delegation, which arrived on the same day in the GDR at the invitation of the FDGB National Executive, is to familiarize itself during visits to Berlin enterprises and the "Fritz Heckert" trade union college in Bernau near Berlin with the FDGB's trade union work and the initial and further training of trade union officials.

Security Roundtable Talks With UK Conclude

LD0405205189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The participants in the third roundtable talk between the GDR and Great Britain have spoken in support of the further activation of frank political dialogue. At the conclusion of the 2-day discussion between parliamentarians and scientists, businessmen and journalists, the heads of both delegations, Professor Dr Max Schmidt, director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics, and John Roper, deputy director of the Royal Institute for International Affairs in London, agreed on Thursday in stressing the usefulness of the exchange of opinions.

During the roundtable discussion, views on current questions of European security policy, on the expansion of political-economic, cultural, and humanitarian cooperation in the creation of a common European home, on the status and perspectives for East-West economic relations and on economic and domestic political developments in the GDR and in Great Britain were exchanged. The most recent developments in arms control and disarmament in the conventional and nuclear area were discussed with special attention.

Prof Max Schmidt underlined that differing views on the role of so-called nuclear deterrence had become clear on the British and GDR side. At the same time, however, the conviction was expressed that the principle of "reasonable sufficiency" must be increasingly respected on the way toward achieving mutual non-offensive capability.

Report Notes CSSR Goods Moved in GDR Ports

AU0505195589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 May 89 p 2

[Text] Wismar (ADN)—A shipment of 3,800 tonnes of rice for the CSSR was recently unloaded in the seaport of Wismar by the motorship "Sigmund Jaehn" of the GDR merchant fleet, which came from Egypt. The transit shipment is being transported to our southern neighbor country by rail. About 10.1 million tonnes of trade goods have been loaded and unloaded for the CSSR in the past 10 years in the seaports of Rostock and Wismar. The CSSR Czecho Freight enterprise transported by sea some 796,000 tonnes of goods in ships of its own fleet or with the Rostock Deutfracht/Seereederei shipping company. The CSSR has 14 ocean-going freighters with a total deadweight tonnage of about 270,000. The country has used GDR ports for its transit goods since 1962.

Karl Marx Days Inaugurated at Party College

AU0505153389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 May 89 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ND)—On Tuesday [2 May] the traditional Karl Marx Days opened at the "Karl Marx" Party College attached to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] with a scientific conference on the topic "The leading role of the SED in further shaping the developed socialist society."

In his lecture Kurt Tiedke, member of the SED Central Committee and rector of the Party College, stressed that the regularity of the class struggle, which was proved by Karl Marx, and the justification provided by him for the historic mission of the workers class and its revolutionary militant party are today more topical than ever. "In the 40th year of its existence the GDR can show such important achievements," the speaker emphasized, "because the SED, as a party of innovators, has brought about the unity of the workers class and all democratic forces on a scientific basis, has steadily consolidated the power of the people, and, through the decisions of the Eighth SED Congress, initiated a course which is fully aimed at the welfare of the people. This unity of economic and social policy is being purposefully continued with the decisions of the seventh session of the SED Central Committee in preparation for the 12th SED congress." [passage omitted]

The Karl Marx Days will continue until Friday [5 May] with discussions in 16 working groups. The more than 800 participants will discuss specific research results, experiences in practical party work, and ways to solve newly emerging tasks.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 26 Apr-2 May

AU0505170689 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 27 April to 3 May reports on the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following members of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee (SED CC) attended the funeral of former GDR Justice Minister Hilde Benjamin in Berlin on 27 April: Egon Krenz, Erich Mielke, and Alfred Neumann. (28 Apr, p 3)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended the May Day rally in Berlin on 1 May: Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer. (2 May, p 1)

Werner Eberlein, Politburo member and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, visited the "Friedrich Engels" Television Factory in Stassfurt on 28 April. (29-30 Apr, p 2)

Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, presented high state awards to meritorious citizens and collectives in Berlin on 26 April. (27 Apr, pp 1, 2)

Krenz presented high state awards to meritorious persons and collectives in Berlin on 28 April. (29-30 Apr, pp 1, 2)

Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC, attended a reception given by the Netherlands ambassador on his country's National Day in Berlin on 28 April. (29-30 Apr, p 2)

Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, attended a traditional conference of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 26 April. (27 Apr, p 4)

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended a reception given by the Afghan ambassador to the GDR on the occasion of his country's National Day in Berlin on 27 April. (28 Apr, p 2)

Mueckenberger attended the funeral of Comrade Guenther Tenner in Berlin on 27 April. (28 Apr, p 3)

Horst Sindermann, member of the SED CC Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, presented high state awards to meritorious working people and collectives in Berlin on 27 April. (28 Apr, pp 1, 2)

Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, received Kim Hak-u, vice chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in Berlin on 27 April. (28 Apr, p 5)

Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer spoke at a session of the kreis party aktiv and party activists of Zossen Kreis in Koenigs Wusterhausen on 27 April. (28 Apr, p 8)

Reportage on MSZMP Central Committee Session

Personnel Issues Discussed

LD0805192689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee is meeting in session. We go to our reporter, Pal Toth.

[Toth] This session will still go on for a very long time, today at least, but it can be taken as nearly certain that the MSZMP Central Committee will continue its work tomorrow, as well.

I cannot yet report on personnel issues, which I believe interests very many listeners. What is certain is that Janos Lukacs is being relieved of his position as Central Committee secretary, because earlier he became chairman of the Central Control Committee.

By the way, I have to sort out my notes, but it was only in a rough and ready manner and in a rush that I wrote down the things we have learned so far.

Four big domestic policy topics have figured in the course of the talks. One is the experiences of the debate on the party law; then, the MSZMP's sphere of jurisdiction over cadres—regarding this, it is worthwhile to know that henceforth the MSZMP will not talk about a sphere of jurisdiction [hataskoer], but about a possibility to nominate.

Then Miklos Nemeth will—it has not yet happened—outline the government's reshuffle program and will ask for the Central Committee's support for this. Now, the report on the Workers' Guard and its future tasks are being discussed; thus, they will not renounce operation, but according to the proposal, the Workers' Guard must be renewed. It will operate as a voluntary defense system, as part of the armed bodies, under the supervision of the Council of Ministers. With this, the Central Committee has already annulled, or is annulling, its previous resolutions pertaining to the party's direction of the Workers' Guard.

The Central Committee has passed a decision in principle that it will convene a party conference as a function of the political calendar. At the end of my report you will hear a report, an interview on this. Thus, the party conference will be convened before the elections for president of republic, for National Assembly deputies.

This means that there will be no party congress that is moved up. The opinion of the communist deputies will be asked beforehand.

The Central Committee has discovered that in a contest situation it is possible, only with a responsible election program, to stand forth; one cannot just keep on promising. For this, new operational and organizational statutes are necessary that will be prepared for May, before the party conference.

By the way, the Central Committee proposes that a political coordinating forum be created.

Party Conference Before Elections

LD0805184489 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 8 (MTI)—During its Monday session, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party came to the conclusion that a further party conference would be indispensable before the next elections, Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee, said during the break.

The conference would have to work out the party's election strategy and programme, and demonstrate that the party had a manifesto about the future and ways of overcoming the crisis. It was also considered necessary to review the party rules of operation, and questions of personnel could also be settled at this forum, as was the case during the party conference last May. Concerning the date of the next congress, the Central Committee took the stand that it should be after the elections, but in the foreseeable future.

Fejti Remarks on Session

LD0805220589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 8 May 89

[From the "Evening Chronicle" program]

[Text] A short time ago Gyorgy Fejti, Central Committee secretary, gave an interview to Evening Chronicle and Television Newsreel. Part of this is now played:

[Begin recording] [Fejti] I am experiencing even within the party, too, that despite the intensified tempo, dissatisfaction exists: There is dissatisfaction vis-a-vis the leadership, there is dissatisfaction with the stage which we have reached so far. In other words, as the proverb has it: "We are in a feverish situation." A proportion of the people wishes to see—as it is usually said in this context—credible figures as well in the leadership for the further changes and intensifications. I consider this a natural situation.

In other words, that extremely fast political change of structure and the changed conception of the role of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in what has taken place in the past period necessitates that these changes be legitimized. It is possible that the Central Committee is no longer suitable for the execution of this legitimatization. It is from this that the issue is raised that—involving the widest possible basis of the party—we should convene an extraordinary congress and that we should discuss at that congress the things we have done so far and the direction into which we intend to move in the future.

[Unidentified correspondent] Will there be an extraordinary congress?

[Fejti] This needs to be debated further because, naturally, arguments against it do exist. We are still not finished with the thorough consideration of a series of issues. Therefore, the Central Committee came to the conclusion today that the convening of a party conference is needed under any circumstances because this conference should develop concepts for the elections. In other words, it should work out the party's election strategy and platform, and it should put the party in a stronger position. In other words, it should demonstrate—and not only in words but also in the form of a platform—that we have a concept about the shape of the future and how to resolve the crisis. For this a party conference may be suitable, under any circumstances. At the same time there is also a need for us to review the party statutes. Should the need arise to settle issues of personnel, a party conference provides the opportunity for that in a reasonably wide circle as it did in May [1988].

In other words, I see in this way, and the Central Committee came to this conclusion today, that under any circumstances there is a need for a party conference before the elections with these three functions, but that a congress should be held in the near future, after the elections, some time next year. [end recording]

Fejti Remarks on Elections

LD0905011589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 8 May 89

[Interview with Gyorgy Fejti, Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party Central Committee secretary, by Gabor Kapuvari on 8 May—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Kapuvari] Have you made any progress at today's Central Committee meeting on the question of how to carry out a dialogue with the opposition?

[Fejti] Well, this question has not yet been debated. The Central Committee has entrusted me to carry out preparatory talks. These preparatory talks have not yet led to any result. I think that the Central Committee can still use new political initiatives and political impulses, but we have not yet reached the end of debate on how to get these talks moving. What do we mean? I consider it very important that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] should discuss the question of so-called political transition with the parties, the political groupings, that have recently come into being. Thus, we consider it necessary that political forces interested in the party act, the bill on the constitutional court, the law on the institution of the president of the republic, and, most of all, the election law which contains principles and the mechanics of the elections, should be consulted about the content of these laws.

[Kapuvari] Is there any discussion about whether or not the elections should be moved up, or whether such a proposal should be made?

[Fejti] I also consider this question as one that has to be discussed with the parties, that is, the potential partners in competition.

For the time being, I consider the date premature, therefore, today, there was only a discussion about it, but as for a decision on what would be more expedient, and I emphasize, not on the basis of party-political points of view, but from the point of view of the country, as to what sort of election timeframe would be necessary, this is still an open question.

What brought up the need to move up the elections? The primary reason is the continuing attacks being directed against the National Assembly by various organizations. Many organizations dispute the legitimacy of the National Assembly, or narrow its legitimacy only to certain questions. Many organizations dispute the competence of the government and they demand its resignation. The question is, what can a government do in this situation? Well, in Western Europe, in such a case, usually early elections are proposed. But our partners in this argument cannot call us to account on two matters at the same time; they can ask us to not move up the elections because they are not prepared for them while at the same time say that the legitimacy of the National Assembly is dubious and the government should resign. Thus, the two matters have a cause and effect relationship. This is why this question still has to be discussed.

[Kapuvari] It seems these days that the MSZMP is in a state of continuous retreat. However, and I think you agree, such a continuous retreat could undermine the unity of action. This unity of action, however, would be very much needed if the MSZMP is to try to win the elections. What is your opinion about this?

[Fejti] Well, it is a matter of opinion whether the MSZMP is in a continuous retreat. I also know that many people think that the party is in retreat and that it gives up its positions. [passage omitted]

Fejti on New Parties' Membership

LD0805214189 Budapest MTI in English 1949 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 8 (MTI)—As reported, Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee [CC], spoke to MTI's correspondent during the break of the CC session.

He said that the question of what number the HSWP should propose to include in the party law as the lower limit of the membership of the new parties and a condition for the financial support of their election campaign remained open and should be the topic of inter-party talks.

Mr Fejti called it indispensable for the HSWP to discuss the issue of political transition with the parties and political groupings which have been set up recently.

In connection with the date of the elections, he pointed out that the theme still has to be put up for repeated talks, mainly with MPs, including the HSWP group of MPs, and naturally with potential rivals as well. For the time being, the Central Committee were only conducting a preliminary debate on the subject, bearing in mind the country's interests, and not out of party policy considerations.

Concerning the attacks on parliament and the government, he drew attention to the Western practice of bringing forward the date of elections when many organizations demand the government's resignation. The new political organizations, however, cannot set the [word indistinct] demand that the election not be brought forward because they are not adequately prepared, and that members of parliament and the government leave their posts.

Spokesman's Briefing on Session

LD0805214389 Budapest MTI in English
2048 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 8 (MTI)—Briefing journalists about the session of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee on Monday evening, Emil Kimmel, deputy party spokesman, said the debate reflected the view that what the HSWP needs for winning the elections is greater self-confidence, a more united leadership, consistent strategy and tactics. They deemed several leaders inept to lead society through a critical situation under the multi-party system.

The Central Committee took the stand that it was justified to draft the party law and that the bill should be presented to parliament before August 1.

The Central Committee decided to set the date for the party conference during its next session, depending on the political schedule. The election programme has to be worked out by the time of the party conference, and the political balance of the past 15 years should be drawn up and made public simultaneously.

Mr Kimmel said that the HSWP had renounced its right of appointing cadres, and in the future it wished to use its right of nomination and to influence appointments to top social, economic and other positions by political means. Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth outlined his reshuffle plans and requested the Central Committee's support for the adoption of his proposals.

With regard to the workers' militia, it was stated that the 60,000-strong body espouses the HSWP's reform endeavours and undertakes to remain viable under the multi-party system. The Central Committee annulled the earlier resolutions on the party control of the workers' militia. According to the Central Committee's recommendation, this voluntary organization of a defensive nature would continue to be supervised by the Council of Ministers as an integral part of the country's defence system.

As to the reform circles, it was stated that the party's basic organizations and elected bodies are taking an increasing number of practical steps to facilitate the HSWP's transformation into a reform party. Every party member has the right to maintain his position while recognizing the exclusive right of decision of the elected bodies and the commitment to carry out majority resolutions. At the same time, the Central Committee stands up against efforts towards the currents' becoming organizations.

The Central Committee welcomed the formation of the Democratic Youth Federation (DEMISZ), and acknowledged its independent operation, free of direct party control.

The Central Committee confirmed that party's intention to continue, in cooperation with all major, responsible political factors, the penetrating social transformation aimed at creating democracy based on a multi-party system and overcoming the economic crisis. In view of the need for political dialogue, the Central Committee proposes the setting of a political coordination forum suitable for the discussion of all relevant issues and the formulation of a common platform.

Kadar Relieved of Position

LD0805214589 Budapest MTI in English
2125 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 8 (MTI)—On the basis of information received about Janos Kadar's state of health on May 8, 1989, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party decided to relieve him of his post as party president and Central Committee member. The body addressed a written message to Mr Kadar, which will be made public.

The Central Committee declared support for the prime minister's proposals concerning the government reshuffle.

The body relieved Janos Lukacs of his post as Central Committee secretary and member because of his election as president of the Central Control Committee.

Istvan Petrovszki, head of department at the Central Committee, was relieved of his post with recognition of his merits and retired with exemption by age. Gabor Borbely, editor-in-chief of NEPSZABADSAG, was also relieved of his post and appointed head of department of the Central Committee. Jeno Kovacs, deputy head of department of the Central Committee, was appointed head of department of the Central Committee. Pal Eotvos, deputy editor-in-chief of NEPSZABADSAG, was appointed editor-in-chief of the newspaper and also elected member of the Central Committee. The Central Committee delegated a nomination committee in connection with the filling of the vacancies.

A communique is to be issued on the session.

Ribanszki Interviewed on 1988 Politburo Clash

LD0805220289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 8 May 89

[From the "Firsthand Information" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] On this "Firsthand Information" program we have Istvan Ribanszki, former secretary of the Patriotic People's Front National Council, one of the former personal secretaries of Janos Kadar. This is an unprecedented interview and we could also say that he is being interviewed in accordance with the wish of the public.

In the last "Firsthand Information" program we already had a conversation and then you said this sentence: The party conference of last May was a putsch. Since then several people have asked me why I didn't argue with this statement.

[Ribanszki] Well, I think that it would have been difficult to argue with it. In terms of personnel issues, an extraordinarily great, extremely drastic change took place. If one considers the organization, the solution, and the so-called final result, then this meeting fully merits the description putsch. Why? It is natural that the party leadership was preparing for changes, transformations. According to what I know, there was a perception that this was to be the first round of personnel changes and that further changes would be taking place at the 14th congress. Out of the 13-strong Politburo, really it was the departure of three persons that had been agreed upon.

[Announcer] Who were these three?

[Ribanszki] Gyorgy Lazar, Sandor Gaspar, and Laszlo Marothy. The proposals for their replacement were also ready: Imre Pozsgay, Rezso Nyers, and Miklos Nemeth. If we follow the logic, then it is perfectly clear that out of the 13, 10 so-called old Politburo members remain, including Secretary General Janos Kadar, Deputy Secretary General Janos Berecz, and Prime Minister Karoly Grosz.

[Announcer] Was it an agreement?

[Ribanszki] It was an accord. The putsch came about in that, in the debate on the party conference, from the beginning really, speeches were made which—well let me call it by its proper name—provided fuel for the atmosphere of the party conference, in its work, in its mood. The essence of it is that the atmosphere heated up and the dissatisfaction was intensifying more and more. This atmosphere then brought with it consequences that turned out to be impossible to defend against because, at the vote, in the first round, five Politburo members had fallen. What was un-partylike in the matter was that by creating a mood, the accord was unceremonially breached [tulleptek] but rather willingly. This was un-partylike, an incorrect move. It was from this that Janos Kadar's stance stemmed.

According to my information, Janos Kadar declared that since the agreement had been breached, it was stretched too far [tulhajtottak], the target had been overshot. This was incorrect, un-partylike behavior and therefore he would not accept Politburo membership or accept the post of secretary general.

Following this, Aczel, who had not been planned for replacement, just like several of the above-mentioned five had not been planned, took the stance that he would not allow himself to be nominated; while Marothy, about whom there was an agreement already, said that naturally in this situation, he would withdraw. This was how the number of members ejected from the Politburo came to be eight.

[Announcer] Still, is it possible to say that there was a putsch just because speeches created a mood in the hall, heated things up?

[Ribanszki] No, it was the setting of the mood and the talks with persons, persuasion, agitation—well, he who has organized a conference, done the choreography of what should come out in the end....

[Announcer; interrupting] Was it (?really) canvassing? Were people convinced as to whom they should vote for?

[Ribanszki] In effect, yes. Well, many did so.

[Announcer] Who?

[Ribanszki] Grosz and Lukacs primarily. [Words indistinct] chief, he was the organizational chief in the party. Without him it could not be done.

[Announcer] I keep thinking about whether it was a bad thing that the delegates at the party conference decided how many Politburo members they should replace, and not the 30-year-old mechanism in which a narrow circle would decide who should be elected that prevailed.

[Ribanszki] It was the circle which had the right to decide which did decide; according to the party statutes, the party rules, the circle had that right.

[Announcer] Still is it a bad thing if the delegates, the party members themselves, decide—rather than a narrow circle, even if it has the right?

[Ribanszki] This work has a very strict logic. Yes, in order to compose the steps in the choreography, one must be able to calculate the steps in advance. In other words, these cannot be ad hoc or spontaneous steps, because only very rarely will that succeed. After all, it is possible to find the target.

[Announcer] So what happened here? Did they find the target or not?

[Ribanszki] In my view they did not really. I will tell you something. I had a conversation back in November with a Central Committee secretary who is not a Politburo member. Today he is the speaker of the National Assembly. He then ventured the remark that those who left are missed by nobody—I tell you this frankly—with the exception of Kadar. I have shed no tears for any of them, and nor do I now. However, I told my interlocutor that they too will be asked who and what they are, and how they got to where they are.

[Announcer] Does it not influence your objective view, your judgment, that—as you do not even deny—you are absolutely partisan in support of Kadar?

[Ribanszki] Well, how could I compare any of them to Kadar? A man like Kadar is not born every day even in the workers' movement; this is proven by his career. And, well, regretfully, I think that after bitter experiences this will be proven by the events of the immediate future.

[Announcer] Still, in order for Stalinism to really break down in Hungary it was necessary for Janos Kadar to be removed as general secretary and that Karoly Grosz replace him.

[Ribanszki] I think that this idea is entirely mistaken, because Grosz, Berecz, and many others at the beginning of the seventies, when a life or death struggle was taking place over reform, attacked this reform from the left. Well, so who was against the reform? Well, Kadar was not, under any circumstances. The circumstances, the party aktiv's inability to permit our advance, not to speak of the fact...[changes thought] look here, with the reform we got into a no-man's land, by promulgating, declaring reform we lifted one foot to take a step forward—let us say that this foot is still in the air. We shall be able to put it down if the West exhibits a greater readiness of integration in this respect and if our friends, the socialist countries, the East—let us call it that—are also able to take a step forward. However, tell me how we can convince them that they need to take a step?

[Announcer] You just said that Grosz and many others attacked the reform from the left in the seventies. Was it the reform or was it Janos Kadar that they attacked?

[Ribanszki] I think that in this case the anger and despair against the reform came first. Berecz in a friendly conversation with me, put it this way: Kadar, with his reformism, betrays the dictatorship of the proletariat, betrays socialism. This view had been expressed in the attacks against Kadar as well.

[Announcer] Was it a concrete attack? That is, had there also been earlier—to use your own word—putsches?

[Ribanszki] Not putsches, but here what is false is the monolithic unity. There has never been monolithic unity in this leadership or in the party. Anyone who has worked in this party knows that on every issue, and on every subject hard debates take place—these are continuing even today, by the way. In my own experience as a party functionary I don't remember one single period during which any issue went smoothly.

[Announcer] In other words, were there no attempts earlier, in the seventies, to overthrow Kadar? I have in mind when Arpad Pulai and other's like him (?were active)?

[Ribanszki] Yes, in 1971-1972 the first conspiracy occurred.

[Announcer] Who was in it?

[Ribanszki] [Zoltan] Komocsin was its prime mover, I think; and it was he around whom many gathered. I already mentioned Berecz; obviously Pulai too, who was his good friend. Sandor Gaspar also pulled in this direction, really.

The discontented movement of Biszku came later, as far as I know. Here there was a very interesting thing: When the chief [Kadar] was being strangled from the left, Nyers took a step like a bull in a china shop—he announced then that we would go even further than the Yugoslavs. Well, this exploded the situation because [laughs]—by the way, Nyers should now be asked what would have happened if he had been listened to and we would have gone even further than the Yugoslavs. Where would we be now; I fear that we would be in great trouble. But even he did not make his statement with ill will. He only said that this would (?be more consistent), it must be increased, just as there is an intention to increase it now.

It was not possible. The balance that evolved then made his present outcome possible in this party. What really took plce was that there was fear for the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, because of the reforms. In very many respects, Kadar—with his compromises, with his readiness to compromise, with the methods of considering issues—was really categorized as a revisionist, that is, a person who is dangerous to socialism, who is yielding.

This debate about Janos Kadar was taking place; it did not end. It is precisely for this reason that the claim of monolithic unity is not true, peace over the party's line is not true.

Bavarian Minister-President Arrives for Trade Fair

Meets Nemeth, Poszgay

LD0505132289 Budapest MTI in English 1240 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 5, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—On Friday, Max Streibl, prime minister of Bavaria, arrived in Hungary to open the Bavarian trade days at the Budapest Congress Centre. He held talks with Minister of Commerce Tamas Beck, and met with Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and State Minister Imre Pozsgay during the day. Mr Streibl is to have talks with HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Secretary General Karoly Grosz and Pal Ivanyi, HSWP Politburo member and economic policy secretary.

Nemeth Hosts Luncheon

LD0505225589 Budapest MTI in English 1359 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 5 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Max Streibl, minister-president of Bavaria, who arrived in Budapest on Friday to open the Bavarian Economic Days in Hungary.

Mr Nemeth gave detailed briefs on Hungary's reform endeavours and economic trends, and outlined the political and economic topics that would feature on the agenda of the forthcoming parliamentary sessions.

Mr Streibl said that the Bavarian government welcomed the Hungarian endeavours and expressed its preparedness to provide many-sided support.

The sides agreed to develop cooperation in the training of experts and managers. According to plans, German teachers would come to Hungary from Bavaria provided that appropriate housing and financial conditions are created for them.

Mr Nemeth gave a gala lunch in honour of Mr Streibl. The lunch was attended by Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

In the morning, Mr Streibl held talks with Tamas Beck, minister of trade, who emphasized that Hungary could only overcome the current economic difficulties if it increased its industrial production and hard-currency export to a considerable extent. Mr Beck stressed that the FRG and, within that, Bavaria were playing an important part in Hungary's foreign economic relations. He reconfirmed that Hungary reckoned with an increase in the influx of West German working capital and transfer of technology in the forms of setting up new joint ventures in Hungary or taking over Hungarian firms. The law on business associations passed last year and the conversion act, which is soon to be enacted, provide favourable legal frames for that.

The sides agreed that there are still considerable reserves in Hungaro-Bavarian economic relations, particularly in cooperation between medium-sized and small companies. Expressing the importance of knowledge about the common market, Mr Beck asked the Bavarian minister-president to promote the professional training of Hungarian experts in Bavaria.

The sides agreed that Hungarian and Bavarian specialists would cooperate in the exploration of possibilities related to the Danube-Main-Rhine canal.

Meets Karoly Grosz

LD0505230189 Budapest MTI in English 1853 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Budapest May 5 (MTI)—HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] General Secretary Karoly Grosz met Bavarian Prime Minister Max Streibl in the headquarters of the Central Committee on Friday. The general secretary expressed appreciation of the relations between Hungary and Bavaria, and stressed Hungary would like to continue high level dialogue, explore new ways of cooperation and expand human contacts. Both politicians considered that in order to boost economic cooperation the interest of business circles should be raised and their confidence reinforced.

Max Streibl considers the reform processes in Hungary important for East and West alike. He underlined that it is in the interest of Bavaria that Western European integration after 1992 should not set new obstacles in the way of East-West trade.

The Bavarian politician put several questions in connection with the changes in Eastern Europe, and the relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union. Karoly Grosz stressed the success of perestroyka coincides with the interest of Hungary, 'as the success of the Grobachev's policy would create better conditions for Hungarian reform'. He said Hungary would adhere to the reform policy under way.

Szuros, Delegation Depart for Strasbourg Talks

LD0405165589 Budapest MTI in English 1442 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 4 (MTI)—A Hungarian delegation headed by Matyas Szuros, speaker of parliament, left for Strasbourg on Thursday to attend the 40th jubilee session of the Council of Europe at the invitation of Louis Jung, president of the Parliamentary Assembly. The visit is an important stage of contact-building between the

22-member Council of Europe and the Hungarian parliament which began in the wake of democratization and the increasing role of parliament in Hungary.

Forum Convenes on Soviet Military Airport Noise

LD0805114589 Budapest MTI in English 1903 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 7 (MTI)—A forum of citizens was organized on Sunday in Debrecen by the local organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, to discuss the operational order of the Soviet military airport in Debrecen, and possibilities to reduce the noise caused by the aircraft. Representatives of the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, the Soviet Chief Consulate in Debrecen, the concerned military airport, and the City Council gave answers to the remarks of the population. The citizens have for years raised their voice at various forums against the noise caused by the taking off and landing of the military planes. Istvan Acs, council chairman of Debrecen, announced at a press conference last November 17 that, on the order of Lieutenant-Colonel Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, a work group consisting of Hungarian and Soviet experts examined the possibilities to reduce the noise that is the cause of the recurring complaints, and the restriction of flights both in airspace and time was ordered.

At Sunday's forum, several residents complained that this agreement was not observed in the Debrecen Airport: Military planes take off and land even in the prohibited time periods. Brigadier General Istvan Schmidt, Air Force chief of the Hungarian People's Army, held out the prospect of further realistic noise level measurements, further examinations and measures.

Nikita Darchiyev, chief consul of the Soviet Union in Debrecen, also spoke at the forum. He noted:

'We consistently and seriously abide by what Mikhail Gorbachev said in the United Nations, that the Soviet Union is ready to withdraw its troops from abroad. This has already been done in Afghanistan, and partial troop withdrawals are in progress in Hungary as well, in the framework of the unilateral reduction of troops.'

The Soviet chief consul voiced his conviction that further troop withdrawals can be expected within the foreseeable future.

On the initiative of the Debrecen organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, further discussions will shortly be held between representatives of the population and the competent Hungarian and Soviet military organs.

Refugees Continue To Arrive From Romania

AU0805152289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 May 89 p 5

[Text] The office of the Hungarian Red Cross in charge of assisting Romanian refugees has begun to also deal with issuing International Red Cross Committee travel documents, the so-called Red Cross passports. Only people who have left Romania can apply for this document, and only if they possess a document proving that they have been accepted by the country in which they intend to settle.

Many refugees have continued to arrive in Hungary in recent weeks, and every third refugee speaks Romanian as his mother tongue. The number of refugees who do not choose Hungary as their new country has increased. Most of the people who intend to continue on to another country are those whose have a mother tongue other than Hungarian, and, some have an exaggerated positive image about Hungary, and, are disappointed and thus seek prosperity in a third country. Other people choose Hungary as a transit from the beginning.

The aforementioned office helped 14,700 refugees in 1988, and this year this office has already assisted more than 6,000 refugees. Help from the population continues to be essential in the activity of this office. The bank account number is the same: MNB 508-11468-0.

Official Comments on Inflation, Price Increase

LD0805193489 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 8 (MTI)—During his impromptu press conference, Under-Secretary of State Ferenc Vissi, president of the National Price Office, refuted last week's announcement by Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan which, in his view, made it look as though the government were preparing for far greater price rises than planned. Mr Vissi provided comprehensive details of the degree of inflation this year.

He said that experts had not yet been given the opportunity to explain their views, and had even been unable to consult in advance with politicians frequently in the public eye. These politicians made public announcements from time to time which have a measure of reality but, going unexplained, still elicit distrust.

The 50,000-60,000 million forints of foreign trade surplus, Mr Vissi said, was good for the balance of payments, but its inflation-generating effect was at least 8 per cent. Inflation was also aggravated by the decrease of socialist exports, because a part of capacities became idle and producers strove to counter the ensuing rise in costs through domestic prise rises. A further reason he mentioned was the government support granted to insolvent companies, instead of the initiation of a liquidation procedure. Mr Vissi said that meeting wage demands amid stagnating production would set off far-reaching inflation.

Mr Vissi pointed out that ill-considered remarks, such as the latest one concerning the economic state of emergency, only gave rise to hysteria and demagogy. (Mr Vissi was referring to the recent statement by Karoly Grosz in an off-the-record conversation during the congress of the Youth Union.)

Mr Vissi said that by the end of the year the index of convertible foreign trade, calculated in forints, was expected to rise to 121-122 per cent instead of the planned 106.1, and the corresponding import figures would be 122-123 per cent, instead of 108. The domestic producers' price index in industry is to be 112-113 per cent, instead of the envisaged 108.5 per cent. The domestic price index, which stood at 114.2 per cent in the first quarter of the year, will be 115-116 per cent instead of 113.6 per cent. To prevent the rate of inflation rising faster, the government reduced the 30-per-cent rise in household energy prices, scheduled for May-June, to 20 per cent.

The under-secretary of state also mentioned serious market problems facing the food economy. As a large number of commodities remained unsold at their current prices, the government would be granting special subsidies in order to ensure the stability of prices, mainly to the most important products. On the other hand, the consumer price of foodstuffs in the free-price category would continue to rise, but not by leaps and bounds.

First Quarter Economic Statistics for 1989

AU0905095889 Budapest MTI in English
0918 GMT 9 May 89

["Hungarian Economy—First Quarter of 1989"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 9 (MTI)—According to the figures of the Central Statistics Office, in the first quarter of 1989—compared to the similar period in 1988—prices of foods rose by an average of 13.8 per cent, of clothes by 19.4 per cent, services by 13.9 per cent, non-perishable consumer goods by 15.1 per cent. In this period, consumption fell—at comparative prices—by 2.6 per cent in food, and 4.5 per cent in clothing articles. There was also a significant decrease in the catering industry.

Production of light industry fell by 5.7, of food industry 0.5, chemical industry 3.1 per cent, while metallurgy increased by 1.9 per cent. The number of industrial employees—considering plants with a workforce of over 50 people—dropped by 3.3 per cent, while production per capita grew by 1.6 per cent.

2 per cent more livestock was sold this year between January and March as against the figure for the same period last year. The volume of livestock was however smaller at the end of March—except for cattle—than a year ago. Sale of animal products remained the same, while that of plant products fell by 10 per cent compared to the first quarter of 1988.

There was a 24 per cent increase in investments, population investments not included.

The figure for rouble accounting imports coincided with that for 1988 and slightly fell in the convertible accounting trade. Exports in both trade relations decreased. Foreign trade balance—partly owing to rising prices—was active in the first three months of 1989 compared with the similar period last year.

Jaruzelski, Party Leaders Discuss Coalition

LD0805210889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] A meeting of the leaders of the allied parties, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Roman Malinowski, and Jerzy Jozwiak, began at 1800 in the PZPR Central Committee Headquarters. Next, there was a meeting of the Central Commission for Party Cooperation among the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the United Peasant Party [ZSL], the Democratic Party [SD], the Catholic and Lay Christian Movements, the Christian Social Union, PAX, and the Polish Catholic Social Union.

The meeting was attended by: for the PZPR, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stanislaw Ciosek, Jozef Czyrek, Zygmunt Czarzasty, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, and Edward Szymanski; for the ZSL, Roman Malinowski, Tadeusz Szelachowski, Bogdan Krolewski, Stanislaw Sliwinski, Aleksander Luczak and Roman Szarek; for the SD, Jerzy Jozwiak, Mieczyslaw Jakubowski, Jozef Musiol, Jerzy R. Nowak, Tadeusz Rymszewicz, and Jozef Szawiec; and also by Zenon Komender, chairman of the PAX Association; Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Christian Social Union; and Wieslaw Gwizdz, chairman of the Polish Catholic Social Union. Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth; Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Jerzy Breitkopf, head of the Chancellory of the Council of State, also took part in the meeting.

The representatives of the allied parties and social movements briefed each other on the contents of the program and electoral declaration and also the course of the preparations for the elections. The principles for the formation of the national electoral list of candidates for deputies and its composition was discussed. It was decided to prepare a new declaration on coalition cooperation.

Siwicki, Miodowicz Speak at Party Conference

LD0505115789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 5 May 89

[Excerpts] Good morning, the 2d day of the delegates conference began with a speech by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers. We relayed this part of the proceedings in our first program. After the prime minister's speech, the plenary debate continued. Here are the main themes. [passage omitted]

Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and defense minister, spoke about the state of our Armed Forces. He said: During the last 3 years a lot has changed in the party and in the Armed Forces. The attitude to independence and the security of the Polish borders constitutes a foundation for the functioning of our Army. The new thinking on peace in the world has produced new trends which make peaceful coexistence stronger. This is reflected in our domestic policy. We are reducing the military budget and staffing. Such an attitude must also be demonstrated by other sides. Until the threat from outside disappears, the Army will guard our borders. The Army is a proreformist force and it supports social renewal. The Polish Army has is greatly respected in the community and not without good reason. The Army, after all, has made a very significant contribution to the economic development of Poland. [passage omitted]

Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Politburo and chairman of the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] spoke about the situation of the OPZZ trade unions. Pluralism did not weaken us, he said. We are coping in new conditions. We remain faithful to the decisions of the 10th party congress, which speak about the partnerlike relationship of the party and the trade unions.

However, it is necessary, he said, to resolve today the problem of party members' trade union membership. Party members ought to belong to the left-wing and not to the opposition trade unions.

Ahead of us are the elections and our state of readiness causes serious doubts and fears. After all, the times of having a monopoly on being right have ended, on our initiative. Ahead of us in an effort to join that which has been artificially divided, including the democratic left. The condition for success is economic improvement. The situation is bad, and this is felt most acutely by the working people. The class trade union movement pointed out many times the negative phenomena and directions for the rationalization of economic policy. It is possible, according to trade unionists, to reform the economy without dangerous effects on the public.

Strike Continues in Copper, Other Mines

Negotiations Continue

LD0805163689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] The sit-in strike at the Lubin, Polkowice, Sieroszowice, and Rudna copper mines is in its 4th day. Only the teams servicing the installations which are indispensable for the functioning of the mines are working. These are the water draining, ventilation, and electrical services.

Talks between the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee and the management of the copper combine have not produced any results. Negotiations are continuing. Each day on strike means a loss of about 100,000 tonnes of ore. The interruption in ore extraction also constitutes a danger in the form of accumulating ground stress.

Metro Miners Discontinue Work

LD0805214989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Because of the strike in the copper basin, Lubin miners doing excavation work on the metro tunnel under the Trasa Lazienkowska in Warsaw have discontinued their work. Normal work operations continue at other metro construction sites.

End of Copper Strike Possible

AU0905085689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Legnica—After tough all-night talks at the Rudna mine between the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee and the directorate of the copper combine, a chance for an end to the 5-day sit-in strike at mines of the Legnica-Glogow Copper District has appeared at last. The chairman of the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee told PAP that a draft agreement has been worked out, and that if it is accepted by the work forces, the strike will end and the miners will return to work.

Talks Fail To Settle Dispute

AU0905144089 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Today's long talks between the directorate of the copper combine and the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee at the Rudna mine have failed to solve the wage problems in copper mining. The sit-in strike that started 5 days ago in the mines is continuing.

New Solidarity Newspaper Arrives on Newsstands

LD0805121989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen. Today in the newsstands there appeared the first issue of the ELECTION GAZETTE [GAZETA WYBORCZA], the Solidarity newspaper. The print run is 150,000.

Paper Reports Mass Graves

AU0905134489 Paris AFP in English 1256 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 9 (AFP)—Mass graves containing the remains of Polish resistance fighters killed after World War II have been found on the outskirts of Warsaw, Poland's new opposition daily reported Tuesday.

The graves were found on a former shooting range near Otwock. The victims were fighters who took their orders from Poland's wartime government-in-exile in London, GAZETA WYBORCZA reported. They were killed by the Polish political police during the Stalinist era, it added.

The GAZETA WYBORCZA quoted local residents as saying the fighters were murdered in cold blood, or tortured to death in police jails, before being buried in the mass graves between the summer of 1945 and the autumn of 1946.

Trees were planted on the site in 1956. It was formerly a residential area occupied by the political police where houses were used as prisons. The exact number of victims in the graves was unclear but the Communist Party youth paper, SZTANDAR MLODYCH, recently said they could number between 500 and 1,000. For years, people have come secretly to the site of the graves on All Saints Day and lit candles.

The GAZETA WYBORCZA, the first opposition newspaper in Poland and edited by the Solidarity union, published its first issue Monday.

Krakow Paper Outlines Solidarity Union's Tasks

PM0805114289 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 2 Apr 89 p 1

[Stefan Wilkanowicz commentary: "Solidarity's Tasks: Old and New"]

[Text] Halina Bortnowska-Dabrowska's article "When One Begins Again" (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No. 8) contains statements which deserve particular attention and reflection. I am thinking particularly of the following observation: "It is important not to forgo tension, not to choose between truths and strivings, which are mutually complementary, although it is so difficult to reconcile them with one another. For example, we should not opt for development without stabilization, pluralism without integration, or trade unions without social movement (or vice versa)." These last words instantly prompt a question about the nature of the relationship between trade unions and social movements. Without an answer to this question we will find it difficult to discuss Solidarity's tasks in the new situation because the situation itself is heavily ambiguous. In my opinion the former Solidarity constituted a social movement contained (more or less awkwardly) within the trade union framework, whereas today it is increasingly becoming a social movement (or social coalition) grouped around the union. After a period which saw a separation and self-definition by the independent milieus previously grouped within the union, as well as the emergence of new groups, the movement has been gradually adopting the character of an integrating coalition. In my opinion, the appointment of the Citizens' Committee confirms this tendency. Thus we can confidently assume that it is highly probable that Solidarity will constitute a trade union as well as the core of a multi-function social movement with the structure of a coalition. So far all seems clear and logical.

But the paradox consists in the fact that both the union and the movement must temporarily fulfill the duties of a political party, although they do not wish to become one. They must do that because they constitute a significant political force—this, in contrast to groups which want to constitute political parties or who regard themselves as such. In the present situation political power can be wielded by an extensive social movement that manages to integrate a variety of milieus. Should it transform itself into a political party today, it would stand to lose its power for a variety of reasons, but mainly because it would find it far more difficult to maintain its integrating role.

It follows that Solidarity's tasks for the future stem from its tripartite nature, which is essential in this transitory stage, but which will hopefully last only a short while. For the sake of clarity, they can be divided into union, economic, and political tasks, although the border lines between these three areas are not very well defined.

UNION TASKS

1—Protection of employee rights in enterprises, as seen from the perspective of professional groups, the national economy sector, and nationwide. This is the union's basic task, which assumes particular importance during periods of inflation and economic reform. At enterprise level it will involve not only guaranteeing compensatory pay increases but, first and foremost, safeguarding a just system of wage fund distribution and observance of the Labor Code—which, incidentally, should be amended soon.

2—Concern for high standards of work ethics and employer-employee relations in the workplace. We are currently witnessing a particularly profound crisis in work ethics and labor relations. This not only entails a decline of initiative and distortions in cooperation but also affects people's attitude to the basic significance of work, whose effects are largely wasted and consequently depreciated. Chaotic inflation only aggravates the crisis and results in a decline in productivity. It is obvious that we need general political and economic reforms to combat the crisis, but we also need decisive action on the part of every employee and every work team. Unions can exert a positive influence here by forging a sense of responsibility among employees and regulating manager-work force relations so that they embody guarantees of respect for employees' personal dignity, offer them scope for initiative, and facilitate real cooperation.

3—Concern for the human needs of employees and their families. This would involve not only the usual provision of employees' holiday schemes and allocation of car purchase coupons and potato consignments but also the development of all kinds of everyday care and solidarity, with the aim of raising the level of personal culture and family and social relations. This type of union task is by no means extraordinary or confined to the specific Polish situation: It is a standard task of all unions inspired by religious ideals and associated in the World Confederation of Labor. In Poland it is frequently invoked in the work of all kinds of working people's chaplaincies.

ECONOMIC TASKS

4—Concern for sound economic management within the workplace and for economic reform in the country. Naturally, sound economic management should be primarily the concern of enterprise management and workers' self-management bodies, but when we consider the disastrous effects of the wasteful management of resources and the corruption that threaten to ruin our national economy, this is a task for all citizens. Radical elimination of these practices will only be possible through a profound restructuring of economic mechanisms, which would ensure that sound economic management becomes profitable and, indeed, constitutes an economic necessity. However, parallel with reforms at the top, we will also need concerted action from the lower levels, aimed at better work organization and identification of all instances of wasteful management and theft, especially at higher levels, because they can be most dangerous there. The range of human inventiveness is quite inexhaustible here, and the methods of falsifying enterprise results defy the imagination of the best economists who analyze our economy on the basis of statistical data and information relevant to a comparatively normal economy. This is why a reform movement directed from the bottom upward also serves the interests of economic reform nationwide or at the level of a particular sector of the economy, because it supplies us with information about pathological socioeconomic phenomena, corrects statistical data, and highlights the role—positive or negative—played by the protagonists of economic activity, that is, the employees. Their role is very often played down in discussions on economic reforms, and this can very easily cause apparently rational reform measures to produce totally unexpected effects totally different from the planned outcome.

5—Improving standards of economic management among employees. A modern enterprise can only operate smoothly when the work force understands the principles of its operation, that is, when it possesses a certain level of economic education and a sound knowledge of the structure of the enterprise itself. The workers must also want to improve the performance of their enterprise and know how to achieve this. The same principle applies to trade unionists. Without a sound knowledge of relevant elements of the science of economics, work organization, and the operation of their enterprises, they will not make good unionists, because they will not know which demands they can and should make and which can prove destructive to the enterprise. This is very important insofar as the average Pole has by now lost the ability to think in terms of sound economic management and to apply the spirit of enterprise and initiative: Instead, he is a reluctant performer of given tasks.

Consequently, better economic management can only be achieved through training and self-education, and it also requires practical training in management methods, which can be acquired through participation in workers' self-management bodies.

POLITICAL TASKS

6—Struggle to ensure observance of the law, within enterprises and outside them. For example, it is common knowledge that the majority of employees are largely unfamiliar with the Labor Code and that enterprise managements are reluctant to observe it. However, the code itself is highly unsatisfactory because it restricts employees' rights. We also frequently encounter various forms of abuse of power and privilege, discrimination, and political pressure. A strong union can counteract these phenomena more effectively, and in particular it can prevent them. But it must have people well versed in law and economics at all levels. The most important reforms here would be in the field of administration of justice (for example, the independence of the judiciary) and in continuous monitoring of the observance of the law. The law can only operate properly if it is just and if there are forces which can enforce its observance.

7—Concern for further political reforms. It is common knowledge that it takes time to organize all the required reforms, because of resistance or, indeed, sabotage on the part of those whose privileges would be taken away by the reforms, and also because of the need to learn the practice of democracy, which always requires a high level of political culture if it is to function properly. Just as in the economic field, the level of our political culture is fairly low, especially among young people who have had no opportunities to acquire it before. Well-ordered union work can teach them the practice of democracy, but such education takes time because it means acquiring both knowledge and practical training. Nonetheless we must hurry with it because delaying the progress of the reforms would mean making it more and more difficult—or even impossible—to overcome the crisis.

THE NEED FOR SELF-EDUCATION

All the above tasks require sound preparation. This, however, cannot be achieved through academic study, but must be done as we advance—through responsible, adult commitment to self-education linked with practice, that is, finding practical solutions to new problems that emerge in the course of our progress. Experts in various fields will here play the role not so much of academic lecturers as of practical specialists who can assist us in formulating quick and sensible responses to the changing needs of the day and at the same time encourage us to educate ourselves through independent thinking and team work. Young union leaders need this kind of help most.

THE HELPING ROLE OF THE CHURCH

Both the clergy and lay Catholic communities can and should help the unionists in this task of self-education. Parish priests and community chaplains familiar with work-related problems can offer considerable help in the fundamental questions of modeling people's attitudes to work and social activity. Suitably trained lay Catholics should in particular focus their attention on the more detailed ethical questions concerning individual occupations and areas of social activity, methods of social action, dialogue and struggle, attitudes to adversaries, and methods of resolving conflicts.

It is no secret that there is still very much to be done in these areas. Working people's chaplaincies are not yet sufficiently developed. They occur as isolated enclaves rather than routine constituents of regular chaplaincy structures. They usually cater to working people's milieus in the aspect of their broader human needs, but they have not sufficiently developed either their theoretical attitudes or their practical responses to work-related problems in these milieus. Some major and well-represented occupations have no work chaplaincies of their own, and there is no one to deal with the problems of their professional ethics.

These issues are also inadequately represented on the agendas of Christian Culture Weeks. They feature slightly more prominently in the work programs of Catholic Intelligentsia Clubs [KIK]. The latter have to date organized several discussion sessions devoted to work-related problems and they also conducted a fairly extensive opinion poll on the same subject. Its results could provide material for the programs of working people's chaplaincies as well as trade union self-education courses. Certain KIK clubs quite often include broader socieconomic issues in the programs of their discussion sessions. However, none of these measures meet the existing demand.

To conclude, there is an pressing and imperative need to collate all the existing materials on the subject and to prepare from them comprehensive self-education study programs as well as study materials which could help to eliminate unchartered areas in the field of work ethics.

Transcript of Rykowski 3 May News Conference

AU0805152989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 May 89 pp 1, 7

[Transcript of news conference by Zbyslaw Rykowski, deputy government press spokesman, at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 3 May]

[Text] Zbyslaw Rykowski, deputy government press spokesman, answered questions from journalists at a weekly news conference at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 3 May. Here is the transcript:

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I have a delayed reply to a question from Mrs Renate Marsch. Last week, she asked me about television coverage of the election campaign. I now have the required information, which I will give you.

It has been decided that the civic committee will be able to broadcast its own election bulletins from the election studio every day from 10 May to 3 June, except Sundays. This will consist of about 23 percent of air time on this topic.

That means that "Solidarity" will receive 7 minutes of air time in the national television program between 1730 and 1800. However, it will also receive 6 minutes of air time every other day between 2130 and 2145.

Apart from that, local committees will also receive air time on local programs. Even in the national program, the opposition will have a 45-minute program every Tuesday evening. This program will be broadcast alternately on the first and second channels.

There will also be an open television studio, in which, apart from myself, "Solidarity" Sejm candidates will take part.

For those of you who are worried that there will be no television program on Sundays, I have good news. The first radio program will carry bulletins from Monday to Friday from 0715 to 0730; 1225 to 1240, and 1800 to 1830. On Saturdays, there will be bulletins from 0715 to 0730, and so on. On Sundays, however, there will be programs from 0800 to 0815, 1300 to 1315, and 1910 to 1930.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: I have two questions. Twenty-seven mines went on strike alert yesterday because of wages. Could you tell us more?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: You are bound to know the trade union demands, because they have appeared in the press. Right now, Rajmund Moric is talking to Jozef Oleksy, minister of cooperation with the trade unions, and they are discussing this topic.

Boguslaw Turek: Can one say that the militia made serious mistakes when dispersing the crowds in Wroclaw on 1 May?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Investigations into this are still under way. The government is interested in a full explanation of these circumstances.

Janusz Atlas, INTERPRESS: I would like to resolve certain doubts concerning the elections to the Senate. As we know, senators will not be allowed to work in state institutions. Therefore people are wondering why ministers are competing as candidates to the Sejm. As far as ministers who are not getting on particularly well at their jobs are concerned, I think society would approve. But even new ministers, whom Premier Rakowski invited to join the government, are competing as candidates. They seem to be giving up their office after only 5 months. The government was supposed to be a pro-reformist one.

Therefore, I would like to have these doubts resolved. Please could you also tell us whether approval was sought from the government before the ministers embarked upon the election campaign.

Zbyslaw Rykowski: You can only give an assessment of members of the government before the ballot box. This is not the place to do so.

I find your question odd, because nowhere is it written that employees of state institutions cannot compete for the Senate. Your information is wrong. Members of the government are members of the ruling camp. The forces that make up this camp put up their best members.

Jerry King, ABC News: Has the government given the go-ahead for the student march from the cathedral to the university?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I know nothing about this. The government does not give permission for marches. That is what state administrative bodies are for.

Yousef Mah'd, WAFA Palestinian Agency: You said that the opposition is to have 23 percent of the air time on the subject of the elections. If the opposition has 23 percent, how much will the governing coalition have? And how much will independent citizens have?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The amount of air time is based on proportionality. The coalition, which consists of many political forces, will have the same amount of time as the percentage of seats it has in the Sejm in accordance with the accord. Thirty-five percent of the air time has been divided among "Solidarity" and other independent and nonparty candidates.

Jerry King, ABC News: Continuing my previous question, if the government knows nothing about this march and does not consider it to be its business, is such a student march illegal, and may it be stopped?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: A march that has been announced in advance and sanctioned is legal. However, a march that fails to gain city hall's approval is illegal.

Gulio Gelibter, ANSA: Italian President Cossiga and Foreign Minister Andreotti will be in Poland in a few days' time. What exactly does the government expect from this visit in a political and economic sense?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: You know I cannot tell you. However, I must repeat that, as General Jaruzelski has said, Polish-Italian relations are exemplary. President Cossiga is coming on an official visit. Let me recall the State Council chairman's earlier visit to Italy. Political and economic cooperation with Italy is very rich and developed. If you want to know the details, let me tell you that we have signed a contract with Fiat, and we are now discussing cooperation in the chemical and food industries, and cooperation in the manufacture of agricultural machines. I need not mention cultural cooperation, because that is obvious. We maintain contacts with Italy at various levels. The Italian president's Polish visit also has to be seen in this context. One can expect the signing of a contract concerning cooperation in television. There you have something detailed.

Konstanty Geppert, "Solidarity" press: In an editorial of his, TRYBUNA LUDU editor in chief Jerzy Majka described that part of the civic committee's election program that deals with the army as a betrayal of national interests. In view of the fact that TRYBUNA LUDU is an organ of the ruling coalition, does the government share this view? Whether it shares this view or not, is it going to express an opinion about Jerzy Majka's views?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The government does not write reviews about articles, not even TRYBUNA LUDU ones. Neither does the government express opinions about any election programs, because the government is not an election participant. It is political and social forces, organizations, parties, and associations that are taking part in the elections. In no way is the government a party, or organization, or association that could possess its own election committee.

Konstanty Geppert: Thank you. My second question is not connected with the first, and I do not know if I will receive a reply. My question is as follows. There are Polish army officers present in every election committee in Warsaw Voivodship. Does that mean that the army is guaranteeing that the elections will take place in a proper manner, or is it purely a coincidence?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I have complete confidence in the election committees, especially in their composition. As far as I am aware, the composition of these committees is pluralistic, and it seems that they also include members of the opposition.

Konstanty Geppert: Perhaps you have misunderstood me. I am not surprised by the presence of officers, just as I am not surprised by the presence of members of the opposition. I understand the role of the opposition in these election committees. What I am asking is: Does anyone know what these officers are doing in these committees, or is their presence there a pure coincidence?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: In Polish law, soldiers and officers have exactly the same right to stand for elections as anyone else. In some countries, soldiers do not have this right. We are more democratic. Next question please.

Jiri Vasko, CTK: What does the government think of this year's May Day celebrations? Can one say how many people took part?

At his news conference here yesterday, Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation (OPZZ), did not describe the situation in Poland, including the elections, in happy terms. He said the elections might be confrontational, there might be economic difficulties, and so on. How do you view the development of the situation in Poland, election campaign, and so on? Thank you very much.

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Let me start with the first question. We must finally agree that the situation has changed inasmuch as I represent the government, and the government, thank God, organizes neither May Day parades nor election campaigns. The government is a product of the ruling camp that performs constitutional tasks.

I think we would find it easier to cooperate if you realized, ladies and gentlemen, that something has changed, and that the government is only a government.

As far as my forecast of the situation is concerned, I think the situation is proceeding in the right direction. The "roundtable" is the success of everyone who took part in it. The accord we concluded is proving itself in practice. We are implementing a new model of pluralism and democracy. As I have said, the accord is proving itself in practice. This permits optimism about the future.

Jerzy Gonczarski, EXPRESS WIECZORNY: I have three questions. The first one is about the various meetings the OPZZ chairman has held with trade unionists and the electorate. During these meetings, he has given the names of government members who own shares in various companies. What do you think of such conduct?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I do not know what Miodowicz has said, therefore I do not know what you have in mind. Apart from that, state officials do not own company shares.

Jerzy Gonczarski: My second question: How many people were apprehended during the May Day celebrations?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Forty-four people were taken to militia precincts; 25 in Gdansk, 17 in Wroclaw, and 2 in Warsaw. Thirty-seven of them were released after questioning.

Jerzy Gonczarski: My third question: Is is true that Polish farms are being sold to Germans from the FRG?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: If this hall contained only Polish journalists, I would say that this whole affair is similar to the famous offer by Mr Zagloba to sell the Netherlands. Because I do know to what extent the foreign journalists are acquainted with our Polish writer Sienkiewicz, all I can say is that the news circulating in the FRG that the Polish authorities have agreed to the lease of Polish land is completely unfounded.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: Can you tell us how short of gasoline we are in order to satisfy the demand of motorists and prevent lines? Is the government contemplating the reintroduction of gasoline ration coupons?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I reject the notion that they will be reintroduced. However, I must express a certain amount of contrition, because last week I delivered an entire sermon about gasoline, but failed to realize that what is happening in front of gasoline stations is not just the result of prices, but also of supply. In other words, I forgot that prices are shaped by supply and demand. As a man involved with the media on a professional basis, I of course spoke about demand, and I reprimanded car drivers. Nevertheless, I am ashamed to say that I failed to realize that there must also be a proper level of supply.

We have done everything possible to increase supply. As you have noticed, the situation at filling stations is returning to normal. Things are going to get better, not worse.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: When will further details be known about the new laws that are meant to be placed before the Sejm concerning freedom of conscience and the state's relations with the Catholic Church?

May one also enquire how much the state owes the church in compensation?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: There are various secret documents in Poland, but they do not include draft laws and final versions of laws. All one has to do is go to the Sejm and read them. Really, we are hiding nothing. On the contrary, we are pleased that it has been possible to draft these laws in the shape in which they have been drafted.

However, as far as compensation is concerned, I know nothing about us having to pay any compensation to anyone.

Stefan Dietrich: I must say that I am one of the few people in Poland who have had an opportunity to read this law. It says that hospitals will be restored, among other things, and that if they are not restored, then compensation will be paid for them. I mean the hospitals which were requisitioned by the state in the 1950's.

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I assume you mean so-called dead assets. This is not a question of compensation. Affairs involving assets are settled by other means, and I do not think the church is the poorest institution in Poland. However, I swear that you are not the only one to have read these laws. I will launch into a lecture at this point—parliamentarism is based on open work by a parliament, and free access by everyone to parliamentary publications.

Janusz Grochowski, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Is there any news about the construction of the coking plant in Stonava, on the border with Poland?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I regret to say that there is nothing new to be said. We are still waiting for Czechoslovakia to invite our experts.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: Last week, you confirmed that Waldemar Chmielewski had been released. Could you tell us what he is doing right now, whether he has obtained any employment, and how this former criminal's rehabilitation is proceeding?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I have nothing to say on this subject.

Debbie Stewart, UPI: Can you tell us whether opposition newspapers and periodicals will be on sale to those undergoing military service?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I assure you that anyone who has enough money will be able to buy them. However, I must also say that the government will not indulge in their distribution.

Yousef Mah'd, WAFA Agency: Many foreigners are permanently resident in Poland. How will they be treated as far as the Sejm and Senate elections are concerned? I repeat, foreigners permanently resident in Poland.

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I know. However, according to Polish law only Polish citizens can vote. Nevertheless, as you very well know, our attitude toward our foreign guests is always friendly and full of positive sentiments.

Viktor Shutkyevich, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: As we know, an agreement between Polish and Soviet youth was signed in Moscow. It calls for an expansion of youth exchanges. Will this exchange only involve trade union members, or will it also involve so-called alternative movements?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: This agreement is opening new possibilities for cooperation between both societies and between the young components thereof. Our aim is to have cooperation that is informal. Both the Soviet perestroyka and the Polish renewal are programs devoid of stereotypes, and are informal. We want as few artificial contacts as possible, the kind of contacts to which we have grown accustomed in the past. We want our contacts to be as lively and genuine as possible. The government I represent will encourage such contacts.

Krzysztof Leski, GAZETA WYBORCZA: While on the subject, the Moscow agreement says that a coordinating council will be appointed to supervise the agreement's implementation. Does that mean that unofficial organizations will also be invited to join this council?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: This council is to consist of 20 Polish and 20 Soviet persons representing various youth milieus and social organizations.

Surender Kumar Bhutani, UNITED NEWS OF INDIA: We all know that Polish kindergartens and schools are packed. In that case, will the government approve private schools?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Of course. Such approval has already been granted. However, it is not the government that has granted it, but associations. In accordance with the Associations Act, associations have emerged whose objective is to organize private schools. The government wants to see new social initiatives concerning education as well.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: Daniel Passent wrote in POLITYKA recently: "I think the next government spokesman should be the opposite of Urban. He should not be of low intelligence and shy, but should be highly educated, with a mastery of foreign languages. He should be a distinguished person who would make journalists overawed, not angry. In this way we would reveal the variety present in the ruling camp. Only a real change can save the office of spokesman."

Is that merely the view of POLITYKA's deputy editor? Perhaps decisions about a new incumbent of this office have already been taken?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: My colleague Daniel Passent is an independent writer, and as such does not always represent the government's views.

Konstanty Geppert, "Solidarity" press: The Turkish foreign minister is paying an official visit to Poland. As we know, one of the issues Turkey is raising on an international level is the forced Bulgarization of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. Does the government expect this to be discussed during this visit? What is the Polish Government's stance on this issue?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The Polish Government's stance on these issues is always the same. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

Central Committee Ideology Commission Meets

AU0905143989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Apr 89 p 3

[Piotr Rzadca report: "Overcoming Stalinism"]

[Text] On 27 April, the Ideology Commission of the Central Committee and a team from the Central Committee met to debate a draft stance on the origins and effects of Stalinism in Poland. This draft stance will be adopted by the National Conference of the Polish United Worker's Party (PZPR) Delegates, which is to meet at the beginning of May. The debate was chaired by Prof M. Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

The process of eradicating the effects of Stalinism in Poland has its own history which goes back to the late 1950's, especially to the memorable Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the speech made by Wladyslaw Gomulka. Another notable development was the party's Ninth Extraordinary Conference which adopted an unambiguously critical stance in relation to the practices of those years. This was followed by a Central Committee commission report clarifying the causes and consequences of social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic. More recently, a position on this matter was expressed in the 10th Central Committee Plenum resolution. It is worth remembering the above facts.

Thursday's debate concentrated on formulating an official stance to be adopted by the National Conference of PZPR Delegates in this matter. It was affirmed, among other things, that the moral duty of the party is to express the party's opinion on the past, but above all to publicize how the party is eliminating the vestiges and consequences of Stalinism from its own work and from social life. The point is to rehabilitate all those persons who, in the past, were falsely accused and suffered repression. However, this is not all. All the reforms which are presently taking place are nothing more than the elimination of the vestiges of Stalinism, and the internal changes taking place within the party and in its political position, are creating the necessary preconditions for the party's transformation into a political organization belonging to a new epoch in the history of socialism. Attention was drawn to the fact that this settlement of accounts with history must give practical conclusions for the future—conclusions as to what must be avoided and, what is more, conclusions on how to shape this future anew. One such conclusion is an acceptance of the pluralistic nature of society and all the consequences thereof, such as the legalization of a political opposition.

A condemnation of Stalinism requires, at the same time, a profound analysis of its source, an objective and unequivocal assessment, since in all periods of human history there are negative and positive elements. One example of a positive element is the social advancement of millions of Poles, unprecedented in the history of our country, who in interwar Poland found themselves at the very bottom of the social and economic order and, for all practical purposes, without any legal rights. The party cannot allow any loopholes in its criticism of the vestiges of Stalinism, but at the same time it cannot be expected to reason without any reference to historical development. In its drive to reveal the whole truth it must act objectively. It is important to us that an objective appraisal of those past years reaches all circles and that it is not distorted by equating Stalinism with socialism.

The following took part in the discussion: Wlodzimierz Sokorski, Stefan Opara, Mariusz Gulczynski, Ryszard Brodowicz, Artur Bodnar, Jerzy Malczynski, Stanislaw Kalkus, Jan Baszkiewicz, Andrzej Antoszewski, Czeslaw Sleziak, Witold Skrabalak, and Jerzy Majka.

Political Executive Committee Meeting Convenes

Ceausescu Chairs Meeting

AU0505184089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1715 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 5/5/1989—The Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], which gathered in Bucharest on May 5 under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, examined a report on the fulfilment of the plan for April and measures to integrally fulfil the plan for May, the second quarter and 1989 as a whole.

The communique on the meeting shows that, according to the data supplied, the Executive Political Committee showed that the achievements of April and of the first four months of 1989 were superior to those of the same period last year, pointing out that in a number of economic branches the plan provisions for the marketable production and other basic indicators had been fulfilled and even overfulfilled. The communique also shows that in a number of sectors, ministries and central departments April accomplishments had been below plan provisions and the possibilities of the national economy.

In consideration of that situation, the RCP general secretary requested that an in-depth analysis should be made of negative states of affairs, that action should be taken in all firmness to integrally fulfil the plan for May, to improve the technical and material supply of production units.

The speaker pointed out that Romania had everything it needed for a corresponding production and requested that a passage should be achieved to resolute actions, taken with a high sense of order, discipline and responsibility, for the first semester of the year to conclude with the best possible results in all areas.

The Executive Political Committee also examined a report on the ensurance and control of product quality and the metrological activity in 1988. The report underscores successes in raising the technical standard and the quality of products and firmly applying legal provisions in that area. Emphasis is placed on the contribution made along that line by collectivities of experts in scientific research, technological engineering and design institutions.

In consideration of the ever higher demands in the respective area, the Executive Political Committee requested that the greatest attention be paid to the fulfilment of all programmes for a rise in the technical standard and the quality of products, of exportables in particular.

The problem of quality, the RCP general secretary stressed during the meeting, should be the number one problem of the activity of every field. He insisted on the need for further firm steps to strengthen technological discipline and control in all fabrication stages, until the final reception, to thus provide for the manufacture of products competitive in the world market, on a par with the latest gains of the revolution in science and technology.

Meeting Endorses School Plan

AU0505184289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1720 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 5/5/1989—In its May 5 meeting, the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] analyzed and endorsed the proposals on the plan of schooling and the number of scholarships for the 1989-1990 school-year with education at all levels (preschool, primary, secondary, high, vocational, higher and post-university).

The Executive Political Committee assessed that the plans of schooling, by their content, disclose the special care shown for the further development and modernization of education, its integration with research and production, for the moulding of thoroughly trained cadres for all compartments of activity.

The measures endorsed stipulate that in the new school-year 94 percent of the ninth-grade pupils should be trained in industrial, agro-industrial, forestry and economic high schools and 6 percent in medical and non-industrial high schools. It was also decided that the tenth-grade graduates who will be enrolled in vocational schools—the duration of which will be extended—should attend evening high schools concomitantly. It was decided that the capacity of the evening, high and vocational schools be increased, in order to better encompass the tenth-grade graduates of previous years who work in production. A rise by some 2,000 places is planned for the 1989-1990 academic year as compared with the previous year, in the day and evening education, especially technical and economic.

The Executive Political Committee also endorsed the proposals regarding the number of scholarships to be given to pupils and students in the 1989-1990 school-year, assessing that they ensure fine living and learning conditions for the young generation.

The RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu requested at the meeting that special attention be paid to the improvement of curiculla at all levels in view of more closely relating education to the fulfilment of the economic and social tasks, to the new requirements in the domain of labour training for the various sectors of the national economy, of enlarging the professional, technical, economic, scientific and general cultural knowledge. The speaker also demanded that the tuition of social sciences in high and higher schools be further improved.

CSSR's Lenart Receives Ion Dinca in Prague

AU0705193589 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] In the spirit of talks and understanding between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], the relations of close friendship and cooperation between the two communist parties are constantly developing. This was the assessment made during a meeting in Prague between Comrade Ion Dinca, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who is visiting Czechoslovakia, and Comrade Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

On this occasion, the two sides expressed their common desire to intensify relations at the party level, and to give new impetus to bilateral economic cooperation in accordance with the industrial potential of Romania and Czechoslovakia.

Dinca, Stoian Attend CSSR Embassy Reception

AU0805192989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 8/5/1989—On the 44th anniversary of the National Day of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, that country's ambassador in Bucharest, Jan Papp, gave a reception on Monday, May 8.

In the attendance were Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], first deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the Joint Romanian-Czechoslovak Governmental Commission of Economic, Technical and Scientific Collaboration, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP, as well as deputy chairmen of the Grand National Assembly, ministers, deputy heads of section at the Central Committee of the RCP, executives of ministries, central institutions and mass and public organizations, men of letters and art, generals and senior officers, journalists. Also present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania and other members of the diplomatic corps.

On the same occasion, Karel Dostal, consul general of Czechoslovakia in Constanta, gave a reception on May 8.

In the attendance were representatives of local party and state bodies, executives of enterprises and institutions.

Giosan, Assembly Delegation Visit Thailand

AU0805195189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 8 May 89

["Romanian-Thai Messages Exchanged at Top Level"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bangkok, (AGERPRES), 8/5/1989—King Phumiphon received the Romanian parliamentary delegation headed by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, now on an official visit to Thailand.

On the occasion the Thai sovereign and Queen Sirikit were conveyed, on behalf of the Romanian president, Nicolae Ceausescu and of Mrs Elena Ceausescu, a friendly message of salute together with best wishes of health and personal happiness, of peace and prosperity for the friendly Thai people.

Warmly thanking, King Phumiphon asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu be conveyed, on his own behalf and on behalf of Queen Sirikit, a cordial salute of friendship, as well as best wishes of health and personal happiness, of new successes in the activity devoted to Romania's progress, for the promotion of the policy of international security and peace, and the Romanian people—wishes of progress and prosperity.

The interview emphasized the development of the Romanian-Thai ties and the wish to broaden and diversify them.

Reference was also made to the mutual wish to intensify the cooperation between Romania and Thailand internationally for the instauration of a climate of peace, understanding and collaboration all over the world.

During their visit to Thailand, the delegation of the Grand National Assembly had interviews with the acting president of the National Assembly, Pancha Kesorngthong [spelling as received], and with Gen Thianchai Sirisamphan, deputy prime minister, with Sitthi Sawetsila, minister of foreign affairs, and Subin Pinkhayan, minister of commerce.

During the talks, emphasis was placed on the increased contribution that the parliaments and parliamentarians in Romania and Thailand are called to make to the better knowledge of the two countries and peoples, to the further development of the Romanian-Thai cooperation.

Ceausescu Receives Credentials of Benin Envoy

AU0505184689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 5/5/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received on May 5 Ibitecho Isidore Laleye, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Benin People's Republic to Romania.

On handing over the credentials, Ambassador Ibitecho Isidore Laleye conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu, to the Romanian people choice feelings of esteem and friendship from Mathieu Kerekou, president of the Benin People's Republic, and from the people of Benin.

The ambassador highlighted in his address his people's efforts for the country's development on the path to socialism, the high appreciation enjoyed in Benin by Romania's peaceful policy, stressing the wish to see a further development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, to mutual benefit, in the interests of the cause of international understanding and cooperation.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the message and conveyed to President Mathieu Kerekou best wishes of good health and happiness, of prosperity and peace for the friendly people of Benin.

In his address of reply, President Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted the fine relations established between the two parties, countries and peoples, that developed in the spirit of the summit accords and understandings, based on full equality, observance of national independence and sovereignty, on mutual advantage.

He assessed in the address that in the current situation, that was still very grave and complex, the fundamental issue was to halt the arms race and pass resolutely on to disarmament, nuclear above all, to the liquidation of the nuclear and chemical weapons, the reduction of the conventional ones and of the military expenditures, the removal of the danger of a world war. He stressed that Romania gave full support to the African peoples' struggle for the removal of colonialism and neocolonialism, for the consolidation of their political and economic independence.

President Nicolae Ceausescu wished the new ambassador full success in discharging his mission in Romania.

The ceremony was attended by Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, and Dumitru Apostoiu, presidential and State Council secretary.

LUMEA on Concept of International Solidarity

AU0505080689 Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No. 17, 27 Apr 89 pp 8, 9

[Dr Aurel Zamfirescu article "International Solidarity—An Innovating and Profoundly Mobilizing Concept"] txt [Text] Through exemplary and thorough scientific analysis of developments in the present-day world, which is characterized by profound transformations, through impressive coverage of events, and through innovative and profoundly humane nature of its solutions, the political thinking, theoretical works, and concrete activity of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu constitute an exceptional contribution to the enrichment of the world revolutionary treasury. The theses formulated by our party and state leader on developments in our era, the meaning of the great changes and transformations in the world arena, and the identification of ways and means to solve the great problems confronting humanity have been completely confirmed by facts and by life itself.

The Workers' Class—Decisive Factor of Socioeconomic Progress

Examining developments of today, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes, on the basis of facts, the enhanced role of the workers class, the masses, and of peoples in the world revolutionary process, and the increasingly greater affirmation of the tremendous and variegated political and social forces, which rise to struggle against the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy. At the same time, he emphasizes the imperative of the united struggle of these revolutionary, democratic, and progressive forces to affirm their ideals of freedom, independence, peace, and cooperation. Among these forces, the workers' class—seen in a broad concept since it also incorporates the intellectuals, especially those in the technical area—is playing a decisive role because it represents the strongest and most organized social force of the world revolutionary process. Combating the theories which hold that—because of the changes that have occurred in the social structure, especially in the developed capitalist countries—the role of the workers' class and its revolutionary character were decreasing, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu says: **"We are firmly convinced that, among the ranks of all peoples, the workers class continues to represent the decisive force. Recent events in a few countries have proved what kind of force the workers' class is when it acts in unison. Therefore, those who mistrust the workers' class are wrong! The workers' class has been, is, and will continue to be the decisive factor for socioeconomic progress and for the victory in the struggle for disarmament and a better and more just world."** In the concept of our party and its secretary general, the workers' class represents, within the ranks of each people, the decisive factor for socioeconomic development and in the struggle for building the socialist and communist society. However, to fulfill its historic mission within the framework of the world revolutionary process, it is necessary to ensure the unity of action of the workers' class. For, as historic experience has proved, a split in its ranks that emerged under certain conditions onlh caused harm to the struggle against fascism and war. If in 1939, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu assessed, the workers' class and nations had taken united action, Hitlerism could not have unleashed World War II. At the same time, life has demonstrated that, whenever the workers class and all its political organizations and forces took united action, it was possible to bar the path of the reactionaries. Proceeding from these historic realities, our party secretary general believes that it is necessary to restore the workers' class **"unity and the sense of its potential in the development of society and in ensuring peace and equal cooperation among all nations in the world."**

Extensive Revolutionary Experience and Clear Prospects in the Struggle for Socialism and Peace

The more than a century-old history of the workers' movement in Romania has given priority to telling proofs of militant solidarity with the revolutionary and progressive forces on all continents. Beginning with the Paris Commune, the workers class in Romania and its political organizations were in solidarity with all great class battles in the other countries throughout the world; at the same time, they also enjoyed the support and solidarity of the international revolutionary and progressive forces. There has always been a close interdependence between the revolutionary struggles in Romania and those in other countries. As the Romanian Communist Party Program emphasizes, international solidarity "runs right through the whole history of the revolutionary movement in Romania."

In the years of socialist construction, the traditional relations of solidarity of the workers class in our country and of its party have entered a qualitatively new stage, have acquired a new content, and are based on new principles. Through its entire political-ideological activity, the Communist Party of Romania [RCP]—whose members, as in fact, our whole nation, will celebrate the 68th anniversary of its foundation in a few days time—raised both the struggle and activity of the workers' class and of the other working people, and the solidarity with the just cause of the workers' class and of the progressive and democratic forces everywhere to a higher stage. Specifically in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, our party's entire international activity went through an unprecedented process of development and gained new scope and meaning through dynamized and diversified forms and means of cooperation, and through a broad range of initiatives designed to contribute to the strengthening and expansion of cooperation among all revolutionary and progressive forces.

Of particular theoretical and revolutionary importance is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution of inestimable value to the creative development of the concept of solidarity among all progressive and democratic forces everywhere and to the formulation of an original concept on the achievement of a new and superior unity of the communist and workers movement based on full equality, respect for each party's right to independently formulate its line in accordance with the specific historic, national, and social conditions in each country. It is the undeniable merit of the party secretary general to have eliminated a number of outdated theses and narrow-minded approaches to solidarity within the revolutionary struggle for social and national liberation, for ensuring the triumph of the policy of peace and cooperation, and for the cause of socialism and progress in the world.

Constantly concerned with linking revolutionary theory to current developments, our party leader emphasized in his speech at the end of November last that in recent years a number of problems have come up, which require a new approach and a new understanding of the great changes that have occurred in the world. **"All this," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized on that occasion, "undoubtedly requires that each party and the revolutionary forces everywhere make a scientific and realistic analysis—in the spirit of the revolutionary and dialectical-materialist concept—of current problems and it requires a new orientation and clear prospects for the struggle for socioeconomic progress, socialism, and for a better and more just world."**

Bearing in mind the realities of the present-day world, the progress of the world revolutionary process, and the cardinal goals of our era—the struggle to eliminate the nuclear threat and achieve disarmament, eliminate underdevelopment, and establish a new world economic order—the RCP and its secretary general believe that in our time the concept of solidarity has to be understood as a wide-ranging notion that necessarily incorporates all revolutionary, progressive, democratic, and realistic forces everywhere. **"We view the notion of international solidarity," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "within the context of the tremendous revolutionary changes in the world, as a notion which incorporates both the unity of the socialist countries, of the communist and workers parties, and of the workers' class and the support of the national liberation movements, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, against underdevelopment, for establishing a new international economic order and achieving disarmament, and the struggle for respecting each people's right to master its own destiny."**

Constant Concern With Achieving a New Kind of Unity in the Communist and Workers Movement

In accordance with the great revolutionary changes in the world, the RCP believes that it is objectively necessary to achieve a **new type of unity,** that has to bear in mind the diversity of historic, social, and political conditions in which the communist and workers parties and the revolutionary and progressive forces are carrying out their activity, while relations between them should be based on the new principles **of relations** that have asserted themselves more and more vigorously in the international communist and workers movement: The parties' independence and autonomy; full equality of rights; noninterference in domestic affairs; respect for each party's right to formulate its political, tactical, and strategic line by applying the generally valid truths to the specific conditions in which its is carrying out its activity; and comradely assistance on the basis of mutual esteem and respect.

Proceeding from such theses and orientations, whose correctness has been fully confirmed by life, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has emphasized and continues to emphasize the great importance—for developing friendship and multi-faceted cooperation among peoples and states that are building the new system, for intensifying the world revolutionary process, and for affirming the cause of socialism—of strengthening relations between the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries. To fulfill this goal, one has to bear in mind the specific conditions under which each party is carrying out its activity, and one has to recognize that there cannot be any fixed forms, compulsory patterns, or "models," and that no one is the holder of absolute truths.

The diversity of economic, social, and political conditions, as well as the different stages certain countries have reached or have gone through in their socioeconomic development can only generate differences in the specific ways and means to build socialism, in the forms and methods of organizing and managing the economy and social life in general, and in the structure and function of the political and social institutions of the new system. Given these realities, it is each party's duty to solve the problems of building the new system independently by creatively applying the principles and general laws of scientific socialism to the specific conditions in its own country.

Referring—in his speech at the recent RCP Central Committee plenum—to the great successes achieved by the Romanian people in the country's socioeconomic development and in constantly improving the material and cultural standard of living of the entire nation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized: **"On the basis of undeniable facts, all this proves the correctness of our communist party's policy of creatively applying the general economic laws and the principles of scientific socialism to the realities in Romania, and it proves the fact that, ever since the Ninth RCP Congress, we have broken with patterns and "models," and we have adopted a policy matching the interests of our homeland. At the same time, we have firmly applied the socialist principles by proceeding from the fact that the sure victory of socialism and communism can be ensured solely on the basis of scientific socialism, and only thus can we achieve a society without exploiters, a society of social justice and equity!"**

Emphasizing our party's constant concern with affirming a new type of relations in the communist and workers' movement in the years following the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, and especially in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech in November 1988 that during this period the RCP worked toward **broad cooperation with all communist and workers parties,** firmly advocated the renunciation of such outdated practices as laying down the "rules" for others, and consistently struggled to achieve cooperation and solidarity on the firm basis of the new principles of full equality, respect for the independence and autonomy of each party, and for its right to formulate its own political line in accordance with the realities and conditions in its own country.

Within this context, it is necessary to emphasize the principled position held by our party regarding **the dialectical unity between independence and solidarity within the communist movement.** In accordance with the opinion held by our party and its secretary general, each party's right to independently formulate its political line is not at variance with solidarity between parties or the development of ever broader cooperation between them in the struggle for democracy, socialism, and peace. On the contrary, there is a close correlation between affirming an independent policy by each party and the lasting development, on new bases, of the unity and solidarity of communist and workers' parties. Bearing in mind everything that was negative in relations between parties in the past, and working to establish new and genuinely democratic relations in the communist and workers' movement in keeping with the current stage of development; the RCP advocates broad cooperation and exchange of experience. In this sense, our party believes that an important role is played by the meetings and frank and open talks between the leaders of revolutionary parties, by exchanges of views, and by the seeking of common positions on such cardinal issues as peace, development, security, and the freedom of peoples.

At the same time, the RCP believes that, the tendency to subordinate the autonomy and independence of parties to the principle of internationalism, and labelling concerns with promoting an independent policy as "nationalism" or "national narrow-mindedness," have had a harmful effect on relations between the communist and workers' parties.

In firmly rejecting such a tendency, the RCP believes that those who do not struggle to defend the interests of their own workers' class, of their nation cannot be genuine revolutionaries and internationalists. **"The unconditional defense of the independence and sovereignty of one's own country," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "is an elementary duty of each revolutionary and of each Communist."** The development of the communist and workers' movement demonstrates that there is a dialectical unity between revolutionary patriotism and international solidarity; they are by no means antagonistic, but, on the contrary, they condition each other.

The new concept on international solidarity formulated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and consistently promoted by our party emphasizes, as one of its basic components, the imperative of developing—both at home and abroad—**cooperation between the communist, workers', socialist, and social-democratic parties**—political groupings that enjoy the adherence of a significant part of the workers' class, of other strata and social categories—this being **an objective necessity for the future of nations, for progress, and for peace throughout the world.**" Reaffirming our party's position on this issue—widely substantiated after the Ninth RCP Congress—during the meeting in Moscow in November 1987, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that the RCP is for expanding contacts with the socialist and social-democratic parties, both at home and abroad, and for reconciliation between communists and socialists in achieving a large front of progress and peace. As a matter of fact, the very developments within certain socialist and social-democratic parties constitute a favorable prerequisite for cooperation among all the parties of the workers class.

At the same time, the RCP advocates and works to intensify **cooperation with the ruling progressive and democratic parties in the developing and nonaligned countries,** which make up the majority of the states in the world. In the spirit of the same orientation, the RCP consistently demonstrates its militant solidarity with the National Liberation Movements in their struggle to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism and the racist policy, and to achieve their nations' aspirations to live in freedom and independence, and to embark upon the road to development and socioeconomic progress.

Of exceptional theoretical and practical significance are the concepts formulated by the party secretary general in the April Theses in which, referring to regional conflicts in today's world, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that they **have demonstrated and clearly demonstrate the correctness of the Marxist thesis, which opposes the export of revolution and the export of counterrevolution.**" Our party secretary general resolutely affirms the need to completely stop interference in the domestic affairs of other states and to respect the right of all peoples to independently decide on their path of development—a primary conditions for promoting detente, security, peace, and international cooperation.

Proceeding from these concepts and orientations of its secretary general, the RCP will continue to work to strengthen cooperation and solidarity with all communist and workers parties, with the ruling parties in the developing countries, with the National Liberation Movements, and with all progressive forces everywhere.

In his speech to the recent RCP Central Committee plenum, **Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized: "We attach great importance to cooperation with the communist and workers parties, with the socialist, social-democratic parties, with other democratic forces, and we believe that their solidarity and cooperation are of great significance under the current international circumstances.**

"We are for more vigorously enhancing the role and activity of the communist parties, and for strengthening their solidarity and cooperation, so that they may fulfill their mission of active forces in the struggle for solving—together with other forces and parties—the complex and serious problems of the present-day world."

Strengthening cooperation and solidarity between the communist and workers' parties, as well as their cooperation with the other revolutionary, progressive, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces is of great importance for mobilizing the masses in the struggle for peace, disarmament, independence, and social progress; especially in the current world situation, which continues to be complex, contradictory, and serious. It is the duty of these parties, political and social forces to intensify the peoples' struggle to achieve peace, independence, and cooperation in order to guarantee the socioeconomic progress of the whole of humanity.

Several New Agro-Industrial Towns Established

AU0605144989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1352 GMT 6 May 89

["New Towns in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/5/1989—The commune of Valea Lui Mihai in Bihor County (lying in north-eastern Romania) was recently declared a town.

A telegram sent on the occasion to the president of the Republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, expresses its residents' gratitude for the policy of harmoniously distributing the forces of production throughout the country, which the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Romanian state have promoted and which, in the case of their locality, has resulted in deep-going economic and social changes. So, for instance, Valea lui Mihai, a settlement of more than 11,000, turns out an annual industrial production worth roughly 350 million lei. The small-scale industry, boasting an output worth 100 million lei or so annually, as well as other economic activities have developed strongly. In recent years, the locality's farm production has increased sensibly to round off the agroindustrial character of the new town. Furthermore, urban facilities have grown more numerous. Over 250 new flats were built and until the end of the five-year plan period spanning 1985-1990 the housing stock will include more than 450 flats, adding to which is a large number of modern dwellings built by the population. The network of learning units, lyceums included, of health-care and cultural units has developed, conditions being thus put in place for the application of the new law for the improvement of the organization of the territory, which the country's parliament adopted this April.

According to that law, other strongly developed rural localities, boasting a population of more than 10,000, were turned into towns. Noteworthy among them are the localities of Colibasi, Arges County, the settlement of car manufacturers in Romania, Darmanesti, Bacau County, Ianca and Insuratei, Braila County, Nehoiu and Pogoanele, Buzau County, Budesti, Fundulea and Lehliu-Gara, Calarasi County, Basarabi, Negru Voda and Ovidiu, Constanta County, Bolintin Vale and Mihailesti, Giurgiu County, Bumbesti-Jiu and Rovinari, Gorj County, Aninoasa, Hunedoara County, Seini, Maramures County, Iernut, Mures County, Piatra Olt and Scornicesti, Olt County, Avrig and Talmaciu, Sibiu County, and others, which offer their residents living and working conditions similar to those in the urban area.

According to provisions, 548 communes boasting complex agricultural and industrial activities, as well as corresponding urban facilities and headquartering the joint agroindustrial councils, will become agroindustrial towns in the not too distant future.

Suvar Not in Favor of 'Extraordinary' Congress

LD0905030589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0159 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Zagreb, May (TANJUG)—Chief of the ruling Yugoslav party Dr Stipe Suvar stated tonight that he had not favoured the move to designate as special the forthcoming congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY).

In addressing a discussion stand in Zagreb, capital of the Republic of Croatia, Suvar explained that the April decision made by the LCY Central Committee to designate as special the 14th congress had resulted from a compromise.

"It is not logical that nobody think to hold their special congress where such a congress is most demanded. What is special, for example, is the situation in Kosovo, and the communists in this province are not proposing a special conference. Kosovo is in the composition of Serbia, and neither do the communists in this republic propose the holding of their special congress," Suvar noted.

Suvar characterized the situation in Kosovo as very difficult, observing that "special measures are not in our interest...we consider their lifting at the soonest," and appraised that the consequences were to be healed for a long time.

Asked why attacks on him had been more and more frequent in Serbia, in its province of Vojvodina, and in the Republic of Montenegro, Suvar answered he would rather not discuss this, but noted that Serbia's large-circulation daily "POLITIKA" attacked him in 700 articles during the past ten and a half months he has been occupying the head post within the LCY. He added that many other leaders were the target of groundless attacks.

Suvar, president of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, announced he would withdraw from his present party post and from the party's Central Committee on May 17 because of having been elected to the Yugoslav State Presidency.

Cypriot Foreign Minister Arrives on Visit

Received by Dizdarevic

LD0805202289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 8 May (TANJUG)—President of the SFRY Presidency Raif Dizdarevic today received Cypriot Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou, who is on a 2-day official visit to Yugoslavia. During cordial and friendly talks they expressed satisfaction with the positive development of bilateral relations and stressed mutual readiness to improve all aspects of cooperation. It was stressed that contacts and political dialogue, including those at the highest levels, contribute to the consolidation of mutual friendship and the enrichment of all aspects of cooperation, especially in the economy where interests and needs are the greatest.

The talks also touched on preparations for the ninth summit of the nonaligned countries in Belgrade and related tasks facing nonaligned countries. It was stated that interest in the nonaligned meeting in the Yugoslav capital is increasing, not just among the Nonaligned Movement but also outside it. It is expected that the conference will adopt a strategy of activity for the movement which would respond to challenges of modern development of international relations and the needs of the world as a whole.

After the talks Minister Iakovou was awarded the Order of Yugoslav Flag with Ribbons by President Dizdarevic on behalf of the SFRY Presidency for achievements in developing and consolidating cooperation and friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Cyprus.

Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and Yugoslav Ambassador to Cyprus Petar Boskovic, Cypriot Ambassador in Belgrade Andrestinos Papadhopoulos and Director of Administration at the Foreign ministry Ilias Ipsaridhis on the Greek side, were present at the talks.

Holds Talks With Loncar

LD0805222689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 8 May (TANJUG)—The development of traditionally good relations between Yugoslavia and Cyprus and the ninth summit of the nonaligned countries were the two main topics of this evening's talks between Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and his Cypriot counterpart Yeoryios Iakovou.

In Belgrade Loncar and Iakovou continued their recent dialogue in Nicosia, which Loncar visited last February with Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency. The two foreign ministers agreed that the two countries enjoy fruitful cooperation and exceptional political understanding and expressed their special interest in further advancing bilateral economic relations, the results of which have been notable recently.

The Cypriot side emphasized its satisfaction at the SFRY's principled attitude and support for the efforts toward a peaceful settlement of the Cypriot issue and for safeguarding the independence and the nonaligned status of that country.

For the most part, the exhaustive talks were focused on nonalignment in light of the fast-approaching summit meeting of the nonaligned countries to be held in Belgrade at the beginning of September. In the wide range of topics related to nonalignment, the issue of the movement's modernization was treated with particular attention. This was all the more important in light of the fact that Cyprus, the country currently presiding over the Nonaligned Ministerial Committee for the movement's modernization, will visit Harare before the Belgrade summit with a proposal of what should be done to give the Nonaligned Movement a new image. Yugoslavia and Cyprus share very similar views on this. They want the movement to be more dynamic, to be more oriented toward and better prepared for action and to direct its attention to a greater extent than before to important world factors outside the Nonaligned Movement. The nonaligned countries should also be more resolute in their efforts to tackle the problems of the world community and of the majority of nonaligned countries, that is, the developing countries, such as debts, economic development, disarmament, environmental protection. In addition, and in order to achieve this, the movement must work toward modernizing its internal organization, and must become more economical and efficient.

Loncar and Iakovou reiterated their countries' determination to cooperate comprehensively in the aftermath of the meeting in Harare—the movement's last multilateral meeting before the summit—and stressed that they agreed that a successful outcome of the Belgrade conference would be an achievement for all nonaligned countries as a whole and for each individual member in particular.

This evening, at the Yugoslav Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, a high degree of agreement was also confirmed between the views of Yugoslavia and Cyprus on some wider international questions and hotbeds of crises, that is on their causes and possibilities to solve them.

The two ministers assessed that cooperation between a group of neutral and nonaligned European countries in the work of CSCE was very useful and that the realization of the aims of the CSCE is in accordance with the aims of the Nonaligned Movement.

Loncar To Visit Cairo on Nonaligned Summit

AU0905080489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0305 GMT 9 May 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Cairo, May 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar is to arrive today in a 1-day visit to Egypt at the invitation of Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid.

Political circles here hinted that the two ministers would concentrate on the two countries' joint actions in preparing the nonaligned summit in Belgrade next September.

In giving prominence to Loncar's stay in Cairo as an important event, the press in Cairo said Loncar would be received also by President Husni Mubarak.

Defense Secretary Reviews Education, Training

LD0605151589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1038 GMT 6 May 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)—A comprehensive and modern system of education and training has been developed in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] which, as part of the educational system in the country, is suited to the realistic possibilities and needs for filling vacancies in the Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

The Army education system should, however, be expanded and perfected in keeping with present and future needs of development and modernization in the Armed Forces, while striving to make it as rational, economical, and efficient as possible. This was the basis for an extensive and fruitful discussion on the situation, problems, and possibilities concerning the further development of the army education system in the YPA during today's final meeting of the top Army officers, chaired by Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense.

During preparations for this meeting the federal secretary and his closest assistants in April toured the main schools of the Army, Air Force and Air Defense, and the Navy in Belgrade and Split, the center of army technical schools in Zagreb, the higher education political school of the YPA and the Marshal Tito Center of the Armed Forces for Strategic Research and Studies. [passage omitted]

In his concluding address, the federal secretary for national defense stressed that future development would help coordinate the system of army schools with the measures taken to reduce part of the Armed Forces during peacetime in the next medium-term period. When seeking to find new solutions special care will be taken not to have any additional financial obligations. The orientation will be on military academies, which represent the backbone of the educational system and which train cadres for the Army as well as for a wide spectrum of various duties, while continuing to provide expert education for officers so that they can meet the challenges in the years at the end of this and in the next century.

Economists Urge Prevention of Hyperinflation

LD0605164789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1426 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Brioni, May 6 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government should clearly define its attitude towards inflation and economic stabilization of the country because the uncontrolled continuation of hyperinflationary trends could lead to a suspension of its democratic institutions, say the most prominent Yugoslav economists in their message from a three-day consultation which ended in Brioni on Saturday.

Economists warn that postponing the announced social and economic reforms would result in disastrous social and economic effects and would vitally endanger the essential democratization and liberalization processes in Yugolsav society.

They believe that inflation, which reached 490 per cent last month, was largely fuelled by accumulated liabilities due to the differences in exchange rates, deficit financing of general and public expenditures, internal debt, unrealistic evaluation of the socially-owned assets and unacceptably high administration costs both in and outside the economy.

Economists suggest that the government initiate reforms in education to promote managerial and entrepreneurial skills and raise the level of management culture.

Their message points out that no reforms are possible outside the developmental and integration processes in Europe and the world, which require a clear defintion of the nature of relations with the world market and large integration aggregates. Yugoslavia, as a component of European economic and cultural-civilizational space, should conduct its reforms while observing the developed world's standards in exchange of goods, technology and information and in circulation of capital, Yugoslav economists say.

Niksic Security Men Arrested for Arms Dealing

LD0705162189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] Niksic, 7 May (TANJUG)—Momir Golubovic, Petar Ilic, Ljubomir Dzeferdanovic, Milan Mitrovic, Milica Milicic, and Mileta Zecevic, workers of the Niksic Secretariat for Internal Affairs have been arrested for illicit arms trafficking and abusing their official status and on suspicion of committing several other crimes. According to a statement by the city Secretariat for Internal Affairs, they have been trafficking in arms in Kosovo Province.

Milosevic Elected Serbian Presidency President

LD0805130189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 8 May (TANJUG)—The Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia Presidency today elected Slobodan Milosevic the new president of the SR of Serbia Presidency. Explaining the proposal, Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Republican Conference of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia said that the candidate's conference started from the undivided mood of working people and citizens and the firm conviction that Slobodan Milosevic, as president of the Presidency, would successfully contribute to the resolution of social problems and to the complete realization of the role of the Serbian Presidency.

Today's Serbian Presidency meeting was attended for the first time by its new members Mihalj Kertes and Dr Miroslav Djordjevic, delegates of the Serbian Assembly, who together with Slobodan Milosevic, were elected in a secret ballot.

New Serbian President Milosevic Gives Talk

AU0805160889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic was elected president of the Serbian Presidency. Zoran Sokolovic was elected president of the Serbian Assembly. At a joint session of all three Serbian Assembly chambers the delegates first elected the members of the Serbian Presidency by secret ballot and then elected the president and three vice presidents of the republican assembly in the same way. Here is a report by Olivija Rusovac and Milorad Jovic:

At the joint session of all three chambers the delegates voted by secret ballot on four proposed candidates for membership of the Serbian Presidency. All delegates present cast a vote. There were 291 delegates. Six ballots were invalid. Out of the four proposed candidates, only three were elected. Slobodan Milosevic received 263 votes, Mihalj Kertez 222 votes, Miroslav Djordjevic 190 votes, and Slobodanka Gruden 150 votes. The first three candidates were elected members of the Serbian Presidency. Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Vojvodina Presidency, has become an ex-officio member of the Serbian Presidency.

The Serbian Presidency session opened at 1300 [1100 GMT]. Slobodan Milosevic was elected president unanimously and in an open vote. Explaining the proposal of the Candidates' Conference of the Socialist Alliance, Bogdan Trifunovic said:

[Begin Trifunovic recording] On this occasion, the conference expressed the extremely great confidence of the citizens of our republic in Comrade Slobodan Milosevic and highly praised what he has done so far. It also expressed the belief that he will continue to work with resoluteness and competence as the president of the Serbian Presidency. At the same time the conference, I would say, extended the people's strong support for the policy that the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia has conducted in the last 2 years and expressed a unanimous demand for the continuation of this policy. [end recording]

Taking over the post of president of the Serbian Presidency, Slobodan Milosevic said that the most urgent tasks of the republic refer to the economy, and then said:

[Begin Milosevic recording] In political life we face the further advancement of the process which is already taking place in our republic. It refers to the democratization of political work as a whole at all levels, it refers to the openness of political work, the reaffirmation of accountability for political work, as well as for all other work. In Serbia these changes started with the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee session. Today, when we have achieved major political changes, they should be developed more rapidly and more comprehensively.

Serbia's aim is to develop itself in the economic and political sense as a democratic, free society, to be in all respects closer to the ideals of a modern progressive society. As far as political life is concerned, freedom and democracy should enable it to develop on the multiplicity and richness of ideas for the economic, political, and cultural development of society. In future years we should try to realize this program of reforms which encompass the above-mentioned economic, political, and cultural changes. However, we shall also try to take care of the interests of our entire society, of Yugoslavia as our joint homeland. In this sense, in considering our first moves we will try to contribute to the changes to the Constitution which are the first and the most important condition for successfully transforming Yugoslav society as a whole.

Under our present conditions it is very obvious that the present Constitution has to a great extent hindered the state and enterprises, that it has caused a great gap between the state and enterprises, as well as the great inefficiency of both the state and enterprises. This is why this Constitution should be altered for the benefit of both the state and enterprises, for the benefit of big and small institutions, for the benefit of both the people and individuals. Motivated and mobilized in this way, as it is at present, Serbia can do much for itself and Yugoslavia. In addition, we sincerely hope that in our feelings and our activities concerning Yugoslavia we will be together with all our peoples and all our republic, because Yugoslavia, indeed, depends on all of us, on all of us that are together and live in harmony. This is how I understand the duties which I am taking upon myself today. I thank you for electing me and I hope that I share the views of all citizens of Serbia when I say that I honestly hope for better days. [end recording]

Zoran Sokolovic was elected president of the Serbian Assembly by a majority vote. Out of the total of 335 delegates, the joint session was attended by 294 delegates who all cast a vote. Three ballots were invalid. Zoran Sokolovic received 216 votes, Bozidar Manic received 55 votes, and Miodrag Veljkovic 21 votes.

The president of the Serbian Assembly to date, Borislav Jovic, who will take up the post of SFRY Presidency member from Serbia, thanked the delegates for their cooperation and said that the short term of his office had been full of dramatic and crucial events for the republic and the country as a whole.

[Begin Jovic recording] I would like to stress personally and, if I may, on behalf of the entire Assembly that our success was facilitated above all by the political action and unity of all republican institutions and leaderships, especially the Serbian LC and its Central Committee. The unity of the entire leadership of our republic and the huge support of the citizens for the policy that we have conducted were of crucial importance, because they created political opportunities for the decisions made by this Assembly. [end recording]

The political platform for which I will strive in my new post is the platform which is favored by our republic, the defense of Yugoslavia's unity, the strengthening of unity, and progress, Jovic added.

The new president of the Serbian Assembly, Zoran Sokolovic, thanked the delegates for the trust expressed:

[Begin Sokolovic recording] I would like to stress that I will do everything possible to justify the trust you have expressed in me and, together with you delegates of the Serbian Assembly, I will strive consistently and responsibly for the implementation of the established policy and the fulfillment of all tasks and objectives of our Assembly in the coming period. [end recording]

The delegates also elected the vice presidents of the Assembly. Confidence was entrusted to current Vice President Krsta Avramovic and to (?Serad) Ahmeti. Another new vice president is Dr Tomislav Bandin, a delegate of the Chamber of Municipalities who is also a full time professor of the Faculty of Economics in Subotica.

The delegates of all three chambers unanimously elected Aleksandar Prlja, POLITIKA's foreign news editor, as the new republican secretary for relations with other countries.

The Serbian Assembly continued its work in separate sessions of the chambers. After a brief discussion, the delegates of the Associated Labor Chamber endorsed draft measures for the economic-financial consolidation of the economy and banks. The delegates decided to postpone until 25 May the discussion on the program of measures to further relieve the economy from taxes and a report on the implementation of the measure concerning a reduction in taxes on the economy's revenue. In addition, they rejected the need for an urgent discussion on two further draft laws, the amendments to the law on the temporary ban on distributing a part of social funds of the sociopolitical organizations and the self-managing interest communities for this year, and amendments to the law on the compulsory pooling of funds designated for social reproduction in order to finance the construction of energy generating capacities. These two proposal will also be discussed on 25 May.

New Serbian Assembly President Elected

LD0805131589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 8 May (TANJUG)—Zoran Sokolovic will be the president of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia Assembly for the coming year, until the expiry of the mandate of the present compostion of the republican Assembly. Delegates of the Assembly decided on this today in a secret ballot at a joint session of all three chambers. Sokolovic obtained 216 votes from the 291 valid voting slips returned.

The delegates, likewise in a secret ballot, also elected Krsta Avramovic, Tomislav Bandin, and Ferat Ahmeti as vice presidents of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia.

In public voting, Aleksandar Prlja was appointed the new republican secretary for relations with foreign countries.

Gracanin, Mirkovic Meet Party Heads in Kosovo

LD0605211489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1823 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Pristina, May 6 (TANJUG)—The situation in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, which in late March was the site of aggressive demonstrations staged by Albanian separatists, is gradually improving but remains serious—it was presented today to the province's guests, Federal Internal Affairs Secretary Petar Gracanin and Chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces General Stevan Mirkovic.

Party heads of the province told Gracanin and Mirkovic that Albanian separatists are still active. Separatists are trying to maintain a state of fear and tension by writing slogans, distributing leaflets, spreading gross misinformation, pronoucning threats and resorting to other forms of psychological-propaganda activities.

Separatists are also acting subversively, refusing to work and damaging working facilities. It was set out at this meeting.

Gracanin and Mirkovic were told that establishing the responsibility for the erroneous political work implemented in the province over the years is not progressing at a desired pace.

It has been assessed that the most essential element in stabilizing the situation in the province is the political action through which the misinformed ethnic Albanian population of Kosovo is being informed that the essence of the recent constitutional changes in the Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo is an autonomous province, in no way means narrowing its broad rights. Kosovo party leaders (?said) that the front of progressive forces in the province is spreading and more and more Albanians are realizing the danger of Albanian separatism and are supporting the action of the League of Communists.

Jansa Imprisonment Spurs Youth Protest Meetings

Radio Reports on Student Protest

AU0805144189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] The Slovene political alliances and various committees announced that their representatives will attend the plenary session of the leadership of the Slovene Youth Organization which is scheduled to meet this afternoon in the open air as a protest against the detention of Janez Jansa. The students decided not to go ahead with the occupation of the Ljubljana University and the Faculty of Philosophy buildings. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

[Atanasijevic] A new form of activity has emerged on the Ljubljana political scene, namely the open-air sessions which, instead of requiring permission, only need to be announced to the internal affairs organs. This practice has been introduced by the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Youth Organization which in this way has bypassed the legal regulations.

The Presidium has announced that its plenary session will be held in Liberation Square in front of the Edvard Kardelj University building at 1800 [1600 GMT]. This meeting will be held instead of the protest meeting for which Bavcar's Committee for the Protection of Human Rights did not get permission in order to show in this way its dissatisfaction over the detention of Janez Jansa to serve his sentence in the punitive correctional home.

Of course, the Slovene political alliances and committees, including the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Kosovo, want to use the session of the Presidium of the Youth Organization. Therefore, the representatives of these committees will join in as the guests of the Slovene youth leadership.

Since it was announced that Ljubljana students will today occupy the buildings of the university and of the Faculty of Philosophy, the student parliament met this morning and protested Jansa'a detention. It also demanded the (?autonomy) of the university. Parliament decided by ballot that the students should not occupy the buildings of higher education institutions, but should boycott lectures at the Faculty of Philosophy on Thursday and Friday [11 and 12 May].

The session of the student parliament was also attended by Vice Rector Rastko Mosnik, who said several days ago that he might resign because he was, as he said, ashamed to be an official of the university which is not willing to offer its balcony as the speakers' rostrum for the protest meeting of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights.

At today's session of the student parliament, Mosnik did not mention his resignation at all. He subsequently said that by announcing his resignation he wanted to make a tactical move in order to draw the university into an active discussion about the sentences of the four and, in connection with this, the problems throughout Yugoslavia.

Slovene Youth Organization Meets

AU0805183789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] A little more than 1 hour ago two meetings started in Ljubljana, one festive session marking the anniversary of Ljubljana's liberation, and the other a protest session because Janez Jansa was sent to serve his sentence. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

[Atanasijevic] The festive session of the city assembly marking 9 May, the day when the units of the Yugoslav People's Army liberated Ljubljana 44 years ago, has just ended in the (?city hall). At this traditional celebration, in the presence of the representatives of the sociopolitical organizations and organs from Ljubljana and the republic, as well as a large number of guests, Nusa Kersovan, president of the City Assembly, made a suitable customary speech and presented eight golden plaques of [word indistinct], a symbol of wartime Ljubljana, mainly to deserving activists from the liberation war. She also presented five other city awards and one certificate of [word indistinct] of Ljubljana to the community of the fighters of the 15th Division.

At the same time, in Liberation Square near the Edvard Kardelj University the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Youth Organization started a 20-minute open-air session. This session substituted for the banned meeting planned by Bavcar's Committee for the Protection of Human Rights over Janez Jansa's being sent to serve his sentence in the punitive correctional home.

(?With) this demonstrative open-air session the Slovene Youth Organization leadership (?wanted) to raise the public's temperature (?under the pretext) that the detention of Janez Jansa represents an attack on the freedom of the Slovene people and [word indistinct] announcement of emergency measures in Slovenia.

(?It is no accident) that the Presidium of the Youth Organization [words indistinct] of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights to (?initiate a retrial of the four men because it) thinks that they were the innocent victims of a political game. It is also worth mentioning that the Ljubljana Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Kosovo used the opportunity to join in the session of the Presidium of the Youth Organization in order to present its (?demand) that special measures in the province be lifted, and the allegedly correct information on casualties during the unrest be published.

There are some (?indications) that political alliances and various committees in Slovenia will announce their successive open-air sessions in order to continue the protest against the detention of Jansa and the other three convicted people, and in this way [words indistinct] which want the organizers to apply for permission to hold their open-air meetings.

Ljubljana Events Reported

AU0905103689 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] A public gathering is underway in Liberation Square in Ljubljana. It was organized by the leaderships of the republican University Youth Organization and the Human Rights Protection Committee. Our reporter Gojko Brvar has prepared a summary of the latest events:

[Brvar] Dear listeners, greetings from Liberation Square. Let me tell you first that of course this is no gathering, for as you have heard, a gathering has been officially banned. It is a public session of the Socialist Youth Federation or rather its presidium. One must say that this is a very large session indeed, for in our assessment, 10,000 and more people have gathered, I mean, over 10,000 people, who listen to the speakers, first of all youth officials, of course. The first speaker today was Joze Skolc, president of the Socialist Youth Federation. He was followed later by Igor Bavcar and presidents or representatives of various alternative alliances active in Slovenia.

Perhaps it would be wise to see first what the youth organization has prepared as the conclusions of its public session today. There are not many. They are as follows:

They demand that the Federal Court should immediately consider the demand for an extraordinary test of the legal validity of the Ljubljana Military Court judgment. They demand a retrial. They demand that the Slovene Assembly should speed up the work of the commission that is dealing with the question of legality of the military order which is at the bottom of the case. They expect that the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia will carry out the tasks it set itself at its 14 July 1988 session, especially (?after the demand) for a profound, critical, professional legal and political analysis that would settle the question of whether the procedure was legal. They demand that Slovene political organizations and organs do their utmost for the complete legal and systemic limitation of the Army's interference in the people's civilian life, for the public supervision of the work of the (?various) police and military security services, and for the independence of the judiciary.

The Human Rights Protection Committee, it is said in the conclusions, is needed now more than ever. We will continue to strive with it to gain the respect and preservation of basic human rights.

In his speech—the opening speech, so to say, of this gathering—Joze Skolc said that the power and (?the validity) of authority do not rest on everybody thinking the same and everybody submitting to it in everything, but only on its ability and courage to open up the scope for difference and their democratic confrontation, and to sovereignly ensure their freedom and equality.

Let us also report from Liberation Square that all the political groups in Slovenia have used this opportunity to speak at this meeting. They include the Slovene Democratic Alliance, the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, and the Slovene Social Catholic Movement [presumably the Christian Socialist Movement] which at this public gathering supported all the views of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia.

Protest Meeting in Celje

AU0905110289 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] The Celje Communal Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation, the regional committees of the Slovene Democratic Alliance and of the Social Democratic Alliance, the Ivan Cankar Society of Cultural Workers, and the Celje Environment Protection Society have convened a public cultural event at Tomsic Square in Celje at 1700 on Thursday [1500 GMT on 11 May], in support of Slovene Spring.

On this occasion, they will read a joint statement for democracy, a law-governed state, the sovereignty of the Slovene state and people, and a retrial of the four [Jansa, Borstner, Zavrl, and Tasic].

Protest Meeting Banned in Maribor

AU0905110089 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] The Maribor City Secretariat for Internal Affairs today refused to issue a permit for the organization of a public gathering under the title, The Freedom of the Four Is Our Freedom. The gathering was announced by the University Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation in Maribor for this Thursday [11 May].

It was explained by the Secretariat that the ban is based on the Law on Public Gatherings and Public Performances.

Maribor students announced a 1-day boycott of the lectures and examinations for tomorrow. The day after tomorrow [10 May], there will be a meeting of students which will discuss the falling standard of living, and the boycott of paying the fees in student dormitories.

Ljubljana Official Speaks Out Against Meeting

AU0605181389 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 6 May 89

[Franci Pavser report on the celebrations of city liberation anniversary in Ljubljana]

[Text] We now sum up a few thoughts at the conclusion of the mass march along the paths of comradeship and remembrances. Participation was about the same as last year. Along the paths of tradition and history in and around Ljubljana, it was lively since the early morning. It was a nice day. Young people had a wonderful opportunity for a pleasant outing. At the end of the march, the morning events culminated in a modest, but sincere concluding ceremony in the Liberation Square.

The speaker was Joze Osterman, president of the city Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People. At the main celebrations of Victory and Liberation Day, speaking about historical events, he could not bypass freedom in the present time and the latest democratic incentives.

[Begin Osterman recording] A look at our present life and and a comparison of it with the high ideals of freedom, the majority of which have become a self-understood possession of efficient democratic societies in Europe, which is to say of our neighbors, does not reveal a favorable picture. Our life, groaning under the demanding burden of social crisis, began only in the past few years to turn critically to the sources of inadequacy and errors that had led us to this crisis.

If it appeared a few years ago that the amount of freedom in society was sufficiently high in European conditions, events have later demonstrated that we, as a human community, have been unable to react properly to the challenges of the time precisely because we have neglected the freedom of the individual, which, however, is the generator of the freedom of society.

The changes that must therefore be made in this sphere, so that we may (?quickly catch up with) successful societies, are great and demanding. On the one hand, they demand much creative newness and rejection of compromise, and on the other hand, they also demand wisdom and respect for some values that our post-war development, especially in its successful years, has confirmed as our own. [end recording]

Experience teaches us, Osterman said, that rash decisions and changes, they may bombastically be called revolutionary, cannot always be successful, for while they destroy what is bad, they also destroy what has been and is good.

[Begin Osterman recording] We must therefore win our freedom through a patient dialogue—although it is often hard—within the institutions that we have set up for this purpose. It must be admitted that our state and political institutions are in many respects far from being institutions of the people or for the people. It is up to us all to change them in a way that will not affect the freedom of other people who think and live differently. It is up to us, with our maturity, to ensure continuity and not destruction.

In this sense we have formed our political opinion in Ljubljana regarding public gatherings in general, which includes the announced public gathering by the Human Rights Protection Committee. Because of the present emotionally overburdened situation in Yugoslavia and in Ljubljana, such forms of public communications are extremely problematic. They divide people and they do not pull them together. They do not present an opportunity for dialogue and for checking the arguments, but at best they convey one-way messages.

We cherish the work of the committee and we consider it one of the most important actions for democratization and for the affirmation of human rights in our country. We believe, however, that its critical message may be conveyed in ways that are closer to us in Slovenia and that we have used before. [end recording]

Slovene Reporters Censure Macedonian Prosecutor

AU0805181989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 May 89 p 12

[V. Simonovic report: "Prosecutor Violates Law"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 May—At its session prior to the May holiday, the Court of Ethics of the Slovene Journalists Association discussed the case of three Slovene journalists, Marijan Horvat and Adrijan Kirstl of MLADINA, and Tanja Barasin of Radio Ljubljana, who were charged by the Tetovo public prosecutor for allegedly abusing their official visit to this town, grossly violating the Journalists' Code of Practice, disturbing the public, and inciting Albanian nationalism and separatism by distributing MLADINA and a badge with a two-headed eagle.

The view of the Court of Ethics is that the controversial badge and issue no 9 of MLADINA are legal products and that they have not been banned by any legal organ. Therefore, banning such products in one part of the country is not legal. The Court of Ethics found the action by the public prosecutor and the Tetovo judge for misdemeanors to be an act aimed at closing off the information arena. The Court of Ethics was of the opinion that pressure of this kind violates the basic principles of the Journalists' Code of Practice and the Law on Public Information, and even the citizens' and journalists' elementary constitutional rights.

According to the Court of Ethics, the TANJUG reports on this case from Tetovo were one-sided because they only stated that the badge featured a two-headed eagle without mentioning that it also contained four cyrillic letters "s" and a slogan written in both Serbo-Croatian and Albanian: "We will give our lives, but not Kosovo." In other words, the reports did not state that the badges featured national symbols that can be seen in Kosovo.

Montenegrin Council for Defense Session Held

LD0505221189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Titograd, 5 May (TANJUG)—In the development of the territorial defense of Montenegro in this medium term period, important results have been achieved which represent a real basis for further strengthening and perfecting it the framework of the overall system of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection (ONO/DSZ). This was stated at today's session of the Council for National Defense of the Presidency of Montenegro, at which consideration was given to the development of the republic's territorial defense in the current and forthcoming medium term period.

It was assessed at the meeting, the communique says, that in the development of territorial defense, in keeping with the material possibilities of the republic, priority should be given to its organizational development and the intensification of training, and the further provision of modern technical facilities and military hardware in the framework of the further development of the united Armed Forces of the SFRY.

The council pointed in particular to the need for carrying out exercises of the civil structures of society, because by doing this, it was said, a united verification of the functioning of the system of ONO/DSZ is ensured.

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, economic, military, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available source; it should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed, with personal and place names rendered in accordance with FBIS transliteration style.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Soviet Union, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735, or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.)

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.